

# 2018 Readings/Books Impressions

<https://archive.org/details/namdhari>

## January

### 1. Gurharpal Singh, Communism in Punjab, 1994, Ajanta Books Delhi, Pages 348, Price 390/ Rupees

I could read this book 23 years after its publication, though it was of my interest and I am having its photocopy done from JNU about a decade back. Later got its print copy in 2015

Book is divided into six chapters with Preface/Introduction, Conclusion, Appendices and Bibliography. In introduction author has referred to some books on Indian communist movement. Ist chapter is Background, in which author has given Punjab's geographical and other features from pre partition period. Linguistic and socio-cultural-sociological-economical details from census data from 1911 onwards has been referred to. Punjab has been referred to as pre-partition, upto 1966 and post 1966 after Haryana and Himachal were created out of it.

From second chapter author comes over to the theme of Communist movement and second chapter is-Before People's War, 1920-42. In this chapter history of formation of CPI in 1920 at Tashkent by MN Roy and in 1925 at Kanpur. In Punjab it found echo in Ghadar party inspired Kirti Kisan Party and Naujwan Bharat Sabha of Bhagat Singh. Inqlab-Urdu paper from Lahore by Ghulam Hussain. Muhajir M A Majid organised Lahore Naujwan Sabha. Author has coined Ghadar-Kirti and Official Group (OG) for two CPI trends in Punjab. Author terms NBS socialism taken over by fascination for terrorism, a

wrong assumption. In 1937 elections, seven Communist-socialist MLA's won-3 KKP, 3 OG+1 CSP. Raghbir Kaur won from Sikh women constituency. CPI legalised in 1942.

Third chapter is-The Failure of Integration, 1942-47-in 1942, KKP merged with CPI Official group, but bickering continued. CPI fought SGPC Elections till 1960! In 1946 assemble elections, CPI won no seat, Ajoy Ghosh made Punjab incharge and he is described as dictator by author. Master Kabul Singh and Harjap Singh-2 out of 5 CP MLAs had defected to Congress in 1942. Ram Singh Dutt-Gurdaspur leader also defected to Congress.

Chapter fourth is devoted to 'The Lal Communist Party, 1948-52-in this chapter author narrates the story of Teja Singh Sutantar led LCP's Muzaraa movement in Malwa-Kishangarh, led by Dharam Singh Fakkar and Jagir Singh Joga in 1948. On 5-8<sup>th</sup> January 1948 at Nakodar Ghadri-Kirti spectrum formed LCP with 269 delegates-Sutantar-Dutt-Bujha, claimed loyalty of 1500 members, 66% of total CPI, it was called LCP. PEPSU formed on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1948, merged with Punjab in 1956. On 18<sup>th</sup> March 1949, 500 soldiers attacked Muzaraa movement in Kishangarh three killed, two executed, sixty Muzaras arrested, case became celebrity with Fakkar as hero. Patiala Maharaja Mama-uncle Giian Singh Rarewala was Chief Minister. , Colonel Raghbir Singh and Brish Bhan replaced him later. Hira Singh Dard part of LCP, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1952-LCP dissolved and members joined CPI. LCP had won three MLA's in 1952 elections, CPI won six.

Chapter five is-A Crisis of Identity-1948-61-This is more about national CPI-PC Joshi to BT Randive to C Rajeshwara Rao to Ajoy Ghosh. In Punjab-Josh-Sutantar-Surjeet-Malhotra. Baba Gurmukh Singh/Master Hari Singh ultra left. In 1957 elections CPI reduced to six from 10 in assembly. In 1954 SGPC elections, CPI won 22 of 140 seats as Sikh Desh Bhagat Board, in 1960 got zero and never fought again. Membership increased from 1527 in 1948 to 10587 in 1961. Sixth and last chapter is-Punjab and the CPI Split, 1961-67- it deals with 1964 split between CPI/CPM and in 1967 split of CPM/CPIML, byt the later is not paid attention. Before national split there was Nurmahal conference on 20-21 May 1964 in Punjab. Des Raj Chadha took charge of left hq at Delhi. CPI conference in Amritsar on 22-29 November 1964, out of 7124 members, 91 member State Council and 25 memembr State Executive elected. Avtar Malhotra

Secretary. 1967 elections fought separately , in which CPI won 5 seats and CPM got 3.

Conclusions, appendices of Abbreviations, Bibliographical and Glossary and Biographical notes are given, at the end Bibliography of books, official records, CPI records, thesis and papers are given.

Book has very little reference to Bhagat Singh and its style is quite tedious, though factual data is relevant, the book does not enlighten much.

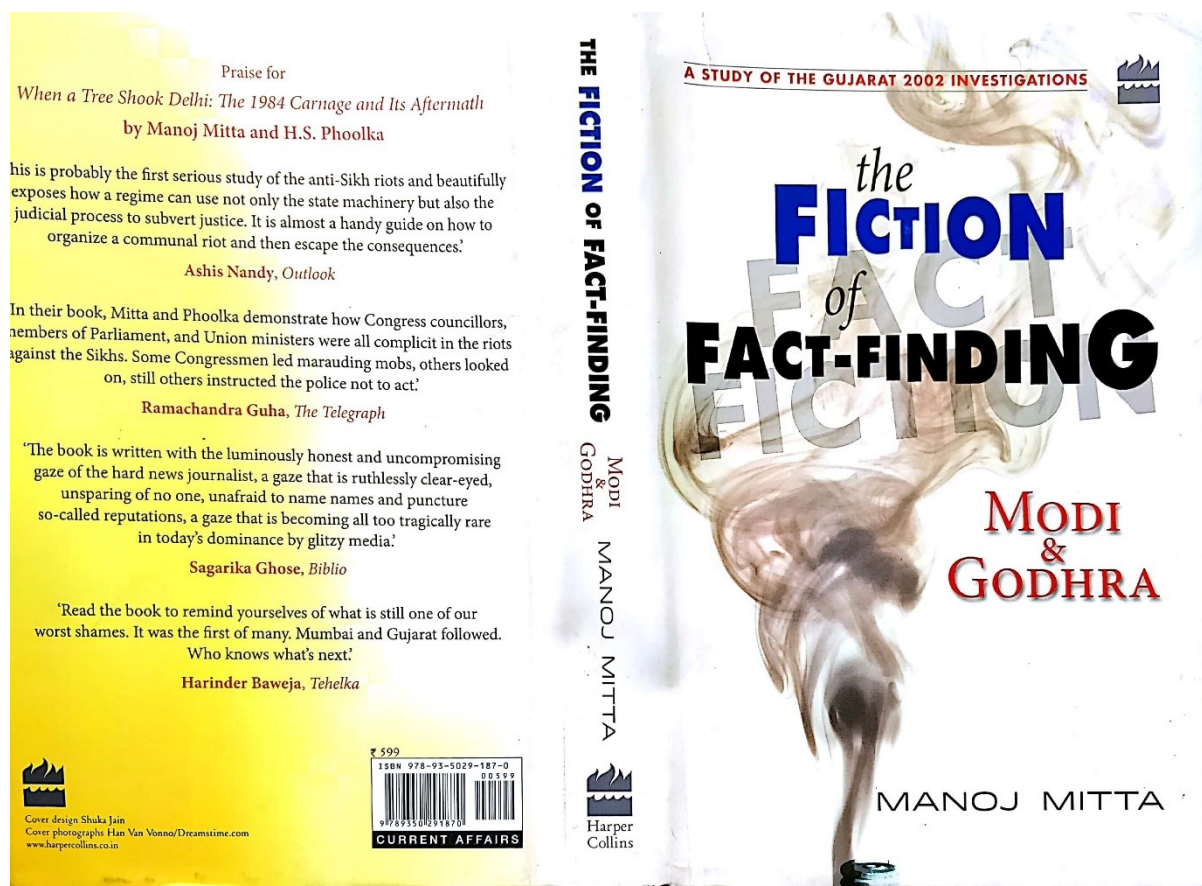
(Read between 31st December-2<sup>nd</sup> January) Posted on 3<sup>rd</sup> January

# COMMUNISM IN PUNJAB

GURHARPAL SINGH



**2. Manoj Mitta, The Fiction of Fact-Finding: Modi&Godhra, 2014,  
HarperCollins India, Delhi, Pages 260, Price 599/ Rupees**



After *When a Tree Shook Delhi*, co-authored with H S Phoolka in 2007, based on 1984 anti-Sikh Delhi riots, Manoj Mitta seven years later in 2014 came out with the *Fiction of Fact-Finding*, based on 2002 anti-Muslim riots of Gujarat. This time he is the single author and there is marked improvement in presentation than his previous book. A senior journalist with *Times of India*, Manoj Mitta is involved with human rights issues at international level and his books are not just written from professional angle, but touch the vital concern of human rights as well. If Delhi riots in 1984 for four days took more than three thousand innocent lives of Sikhs, Gujarat riots for 2-3 days took about one thousand lives of innocent Muslims. In 1984, it happened immediately after assassination of then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and in Gujarat immediately after 27<sup>th</sup> February 2002 Godhra train compartment burning. In both cases rabidly communal Hindutavites perpetrated these mass crimes, but at Delhi, they were

patronised by Congress party and in Gujarat by RSS/BJP, at both places they were in power at the time of these crimes against humanity. In author's note, writer has acknowledged the help of his sources and given background of these massacres. Author underlines the fact of Ayodhya agitation of VHP, which has kept the pot burning after demolishing Babri Masjid in 1992 and how Supreme Court saved another eruption of Hindutva destruction on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2002, CJI B N Kirpal took strong stand to stop this nonsense. Book is divided into ten chapters with Epilogue, Further Reading suggestions and index.

In the first chapter-The Enormity of Godhra-author begins with the graphic narration of 27<sup>th</sup> February 2002 morning scene at Godhra railway station in Gujarat, where Sabarmati express, overcrowded with Kar Sevaks coming from Ayodhya. The roundtrips to Ayodhya from all over country were organised by Vishwa Hindu Parishad(VHP), the rabid Hindutva organisation doing kar seva at Ayodhya to prepare material to build Ram temple after they had demolished Babri Masjid in December 1992. There planning to start temple construction was from 15<sup>th</sup> March 2002, which was not allowed by Supreme Court. Train has reached Godhra five hour late at 7.40 am and there was group clash at Godhra station between Muslim vendors and Hindu Kar sevaks from train, it led to the burning of S-6 coach of the train, in which 58 persons perished. 52 out of victims were Hindus, including 29 men, 22 women and eight children. Nine passengers remained unidentified. 785 Page enquiry report submitted nine years later in 2011 remained shrouded in mystery that how the coach caught fire. In this case 31 Muslims were convicted on murder charges, eleven of them were given death sentence. Some of the confessions were extracted by force by police. 63 accused were acquitted in this case, including so called master mind of the burning-Maulvi Umarji, released after eight years. The civic chief of Godhra, a Congress man was also acquitted after nine years-Mohammad Hussain Kalota, who was also deliberately trapped in the case by a discredited VHP witness Muralidhar Mulchandani. Investigation to this havoc was so shoddy that when three member Editor's Guild team visited Godhra on 3<sup>rd</sup> April, nobody has sealed S-6 compartment till then.

Second chapter-The Dithering over Rajdharma- narrates the drama of then Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee after Gujarat Massacre. Vajpayee made first appeal for peace on 2<sup>nd</sup> March, by the time worst of massacres had already occurred. RSS was with VHP in provoking these riots. On 28<sup>th</sup> February state wide bandh call by VHP and

BJP led to large scale violence and attack on Muslims. In Capital Ahmedabad in posh locality Gulberg society, former Congress MP Ehsan Jaffery was killed along with 68 other persons. Jafri was perhaps burnt alive by the mob. From NDA regime only George Fernandez was the exception to reach Ahmedabad by 28<sup>th</sup> evening and visit some localities next day. , which was tokenism. Same day massacres took place in Naroda Patiya, Sardarpura, Best Bakery etc. Vajpayee visited Gujarat on 4<sup>th</sup> April and made his famous remark of ‘Rajdharm’. Mitta quotes Arun Shourie in support of the claim that Vajpayee wanted to remove Modi as CM, but Advani saved him and he was almost isolated in party over this issue. Modi had Chief Minister few months before 2002 Gujarat massacres and he exploited it by prematurely dissolving Gujarat Assembly in July 2002 and holding elections in December 2002, though election commission resisted early election and Modi won thumping majority of 127 out of 182 seats. After NDA defeat at national level, Vajpayee again tried to get rid of Modi, by blaming Gujarat massacres for defeat, but Advani again saved Modi, the fruit which he tasted in 2013, when RSS imposed Modi as Prime Ministerial candidate for 2014 elections and Advani thrown into dustbin by both Modi and RSS, later even for President elections in 2017!.

Third chapter is-The Myth of ‘Justice for ALL’- Mitta exposes the so called term vikas of Gujarat model in this chapter. Modi is supposed to had won next two Gujarat elections in 2007 and 2012, on so called much touted Gujarat model. Last major massacre of Muslims had taken place in Kidiad in Sabarkantha district on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2002 and in ‘speedy justice’ came on 11<sup>th</sup> October 2002, all nine accused acquitted! There were more such cases of ‘hasty justice’ and acquittal. After a whole year brazen justice of Kidiad was brought to notice of Supreme Court by amicus curiae Harish Salve. NHRC team led by its then Chairman J S Verma visited Gujarat on 19-22<sup>nd</sup> March 2002, followed by another visit on 1<sup>st</sup> April, submitted its final report on 31<sup>st</sup> May 2002. By then out of 4252 carnage cases booked, magistrates had accepted closure report in 2215 cases. Following hasty justice earlier, Best Bakery murder case of 14 persons, 21 accused were acquitted in June 2003, ten days later complainant Zahira Sheikh admitted of retreating under pressure from BJP MLA Madhu Srivastva. New Chairman of NHRC took the matter to Supreme Court for retrial of Best Bakery case outside Gujarat. Modi infuriated by wrote letter to President Abdul Kalam against NHRC. CJI then V N Khare first gave chance to Gujarat judiciary to set it right.

Appeal was filed in Gujarat High court against acquittals, but content of appeal were such that Supreme Court trashed it and ordered its retrial outside Gujarat in 2004. V N Khare's strong stance had impacted Gujarat judges also and first ever conviction in Gujarat massacres came on 24<sup>th</sup> November 2003, Nadiad judge C K Rane convicted 12 persons to life imprisonment, though in 2012, high court acquitted them all. Best Bakery case has its ups and downs as complainant Zahira had been changing statements time and again and getting herself convicted of perjury finally for one year jail term, but nine accused of Best Bakery Vadodra were convicted to life imprisonment in 2006. Same happened in Bilkis Bano case, whose closure report was accepted by police. NHRC took it to Supreme Court and persuaded Harish Salve to represent her and in this case 11 of 12 rioters were convicted to life imprisonment in 2008. In Naroda-Patiya's 96 killings, minister Maya Kodnani and Bajrangi were convicted to 28 years imprisonment by Judge Jyotsna Yagnik. However justice is still eluding Gulberg case of Jafri and 68 other killings as widow Zakia Jafri's complaint against Modi has been dismissed at various levels, courtesy R K Raghvan, to whom Supreme Court handed over case as chief of Special Investigative team (SIT). Though amicus curiae Raju Ramchandran did not absolve Modi of culpability, Raghvan saved him, who had a bad record at the time of Rajiv Gandhi killing in 1989. In Manoj Mitta account of police officers in Gujarat-only R B Sreekumar comes out if flying colours-most upright and then Rahul Sharma. From civil society- Mukul Sinha's Jan Sangarsh Manch comes out most honourable. Teesta Setalvad, great granddaughter of Chimanlal Setalvad, who had grilled General Dyer in 1919 on Jallianwala Bagh massacres as part of Hunter committee comes out brave soldier of fight of justice. Manoj Mitta highlights how Modi was not questioned by pliant Nanavati Commission and saved by Raghvan despite mild questioning in chapter-Modi's Interrogation. Sanjeev Bhatt's testimony became controversial and that was used to favour Modi to give benefit of doubt. Fact that riots were planned with Modi's complicity, as told in chapter-Shifting Bodies, Shifting Facts. VHP activist Jaydeep Patel, later convicted in Naroda Patiya case, was allowed to accompany and given charge of Godhra train bodies on 27<sup>th</sup> February, which was purely police job and the open procession of bodies was allowed on 28<sup>th</sup> February was even objected to by Modi favourite police officer P P Pandey, rewarded later to DGP Gujarat. How Raghvan himself was indicted in 1989 Rajiv killing is narrated in chapter 'When the Investigator Himself is Indicted'. Another important chapter is-Symptoms of Fact-Fudging-which begins with narration of Setalvad's grilling of Dyer on 19<sup>th</sup>



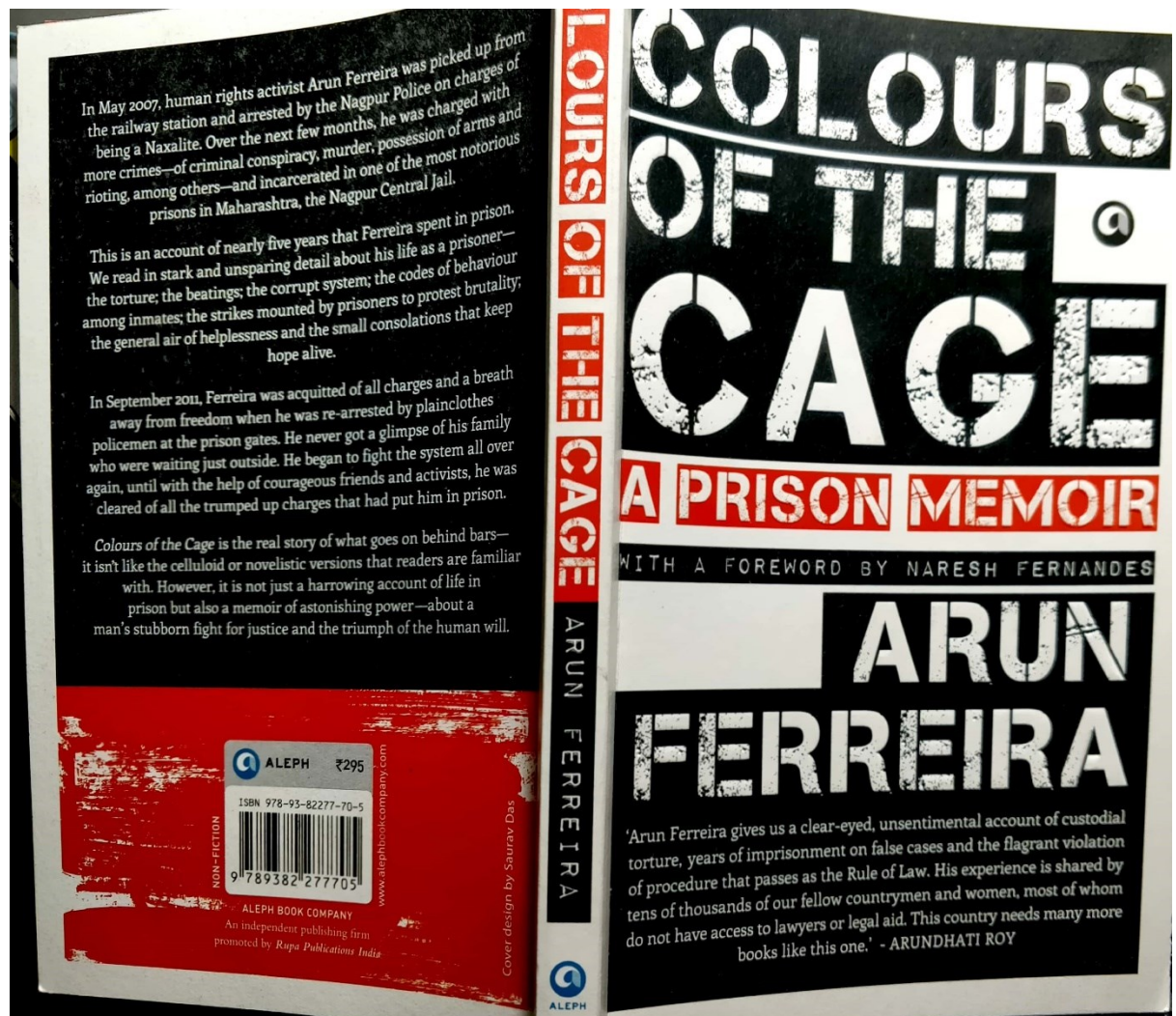
November 1919 at Lahore as part of Hunter committee investigation. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a lawyer from Gujarat, who was knighted by British regime and offered even High Court judge position, was denied the position at his grilling of Dyer, which completely exposed British colonial regime's fudging of facts, unfortunately which continued in 'independent India as well! Through his two books on Delhi 1984 and Gujarat 2002 anti-minorities riots Manoj Mitta has shown that in the name of fact finding by so called commissions appointed by governments to investigate these riots, whether it was Rangnath Mishra Commission after 1984 or Nanavati Commission after 2002 in reality do the job of 'Fact-Fudging' rather than doing 'Fact-finding', which justifies the title given to his book, that actually fact-finding is fiction and fact-fudging is reality in this system- continuation of colonial regime set up traditions. Sir Setalvad's great granddaughter performed same role in different form in Gujarat after 2002, she has been trapped in numerous cases falsely to stop her, but which she did not. In another chapter-Pushing the limits of Impunity- Mitta compares the two riots or massacres in 1984 and 2002 and shows the similarities of police conduct in Delhi and Gujarat, a most disgusting criminal conduct, but without any punishment, rather rewarded in certain cases for pleasing their bosses in killings of innocent people. In the last chapter –Hate Story-author shows the insensitivity of rulers-Rajiv Gandhi use of Big tree falls phrase and Modi making Puppy crushed phrase towards victims, but no remorse and no justice to victims. In Epilogue, author has praised Supreme Court earlier for forcing some justice in Gujarat, also underlines eroding this institution by relying on people like R K Raghvan who gave clean chit to Modi, if Modi is Prime Minister today, it is because of such officers colluding with him in absolving him of such heinous crimes against humanity as were committed by Hitler earlier though at much wider scale.

In suggestions for further readings, Mitta has referred to many commission reports and administrative/judicial documents than books.

Manoj Mitta in this book of exposing Gujrat massacre criminals, especially political criminals, has evolved a new term-Fact Fudging, just like Fake News. It is a must read book on Gujarat, as has been Rana Ayub book Gujarat Files later or Sidharth Varadrajan's book.

(Read between 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> January) Posted on 8<sup>th</sup> January

**3. Arun Ferreira, Colours of Cage : A Prison Memoir, 2014,  
Aleph Book Company Delhi, Pages 164, Price 295/Rupees**



This is second book after Mary Tylor's 'My Years in Indian Prisons', which has been written by a 'Naxalite' prisoner in English, there may be many more in other Indian languages, as the number of prisoners, even political prisoners too high in India and many of them are not only well read, they are writers in their own right, but to whom Indian state treats like dungeon. The treatment of political prisoners may be one among the worst in whole world and Indian police and jail officials always vie with American prison in Guantanamo in occupied area of Cuba in its brutalities on prisoners, despite the façade of human rights signatory.

Arun Ferreira, a young human right activist, spent just four months less than Mary Tylor, who spent five years in Bihar prisons during seventies after marrying a Bengali Naxalite and moving in jungles of India. Arun Ferreira has dedicated the book to ‘thousands of political prisoners incarcerated throughout the country and to their dream of a more just society that will raze the prisons to the ground.’ While Mary Tylor was saved from brutal physical tortures of Indian police, being a British citizen, Arun has to go through it in worst possible form. But both have sensitivity towards their fellow prisoners. Mary Tylor is also remembered for her narration of poor women in jails suffering from social oppression and Indian criminal justice system, Arun has also narrated male poor prisoner’s fate in jails.

Brief introduction to the prison memoirs has been written by The Scroll editor Naresh Fernandez, who coaxed his college friend to write full-fledged memoirs, when Arun showed him prison made sketches and in two years after this sensitive memoir has come out in 2014. Naresh has opined that there are very few memoirs/documents of horrific Indian jails. He has castigated Maharashtra police for not paying attention Guantanamo’s Abu Ghraib photographs of torture, condemned world over and continuing that tradition in India!

Arun Ferreira has written these memoirs in attractive narrative style without any rancour or bitterness, despite suffering worst kind of physical tortures at the hands of Maharashtra anti-Naxal police units. Memoirs are divided into seven chapters and begin with Hauladi no. 3479, in which author narrates that how he was arrested from Nagpur railway station on 8<sup>th</sup> May 2007, where he had gone for some fifteen police men had pounced upon him, while he was waiting for some activists to come and taken to after kicking and bundling into a car with the threat of killing in encounter-maar dalo sale ko, encounter men use khatam karo’-the standard sentence of police in all states, not only in Maharashtra after arresting any radical left activist since 1967, after the Naxalite movement began from Bengal and spread to many parts of the country. It has completed five decades of its existence and is nowhere close to achieving its goal of revolution, once thought of achieving in 70’s itself, when Charu Majumdar was still alive. But neither the Indian state has been able to uproot it, as declared many times boastfully by different governments in centre and states. As the poor people’s

problems of livelihood continue, so continues the Naxalite movement, though going through many upheavals and splits/changes.

At one time Arun was taking notes in jail for its use later, but by caution of not getting the notes in hands of jail officials, which may have<sup>[PCL1]</sup> been used against his own self, he destroyed and rebuilt his memoirs from the letters he wrote to his family members. Every chapter begins with some quote from the letter and then he begins his narration. So in first chapter is narration of Nagpur jail's 'Anda cell', HIGH SECURITY JAIL, where he was kept in isolation. Before being sent to jail in judicial custody, he had to spend 23 days in police custody or remand, in which he was tortured with kicking, flogged with belts, slapped, legs stretched and more painful tortures were inflicted upon his body. Few more were arrested and they were all subjected to such and more heinous tortures in police station, of which Arun Could hear screams in his cell from neighbouring cells. With such torture, his ear start bleeding and jaws swelled, which made his eating difficult when he was served-'dal roti and abuses'! He was presented to media with black hood over head as 'dreaded terrorist', propaganda chief of Maoist party! Others arrested were one journalist Dhanendra Bhurule, Andh Shradha Nirmualn samiti of Dabholkar fame activist Naresh Bansod and trade unionist Ashok Reddy, who had come to blast 'Deekshabhumi' of Ambedkar in Nagpur as per police! In police custody, he was not allowed to take bath for three days in scorching May heat of Nagpur. Arun has named his sadistic IPS police officers, who tortured him along with lower officials. They were made to go through torturous narco-tests against their consent. So after torturing them to the maximum extent, they were shifted to jail, where jail officials were trained to treat them as humiliatingly as police torture. After entering jail, he was given under trial no. called Havalathis, pronounced as Hauladi, so 3479 was his no.! Though in jail principle is to treat any under trial not guilty until convicted, the treatment is of 'convict' till proved innocent! Arun has given narration of narco test dialogues also, where doctor will keep hitting him to keep awake to reply.

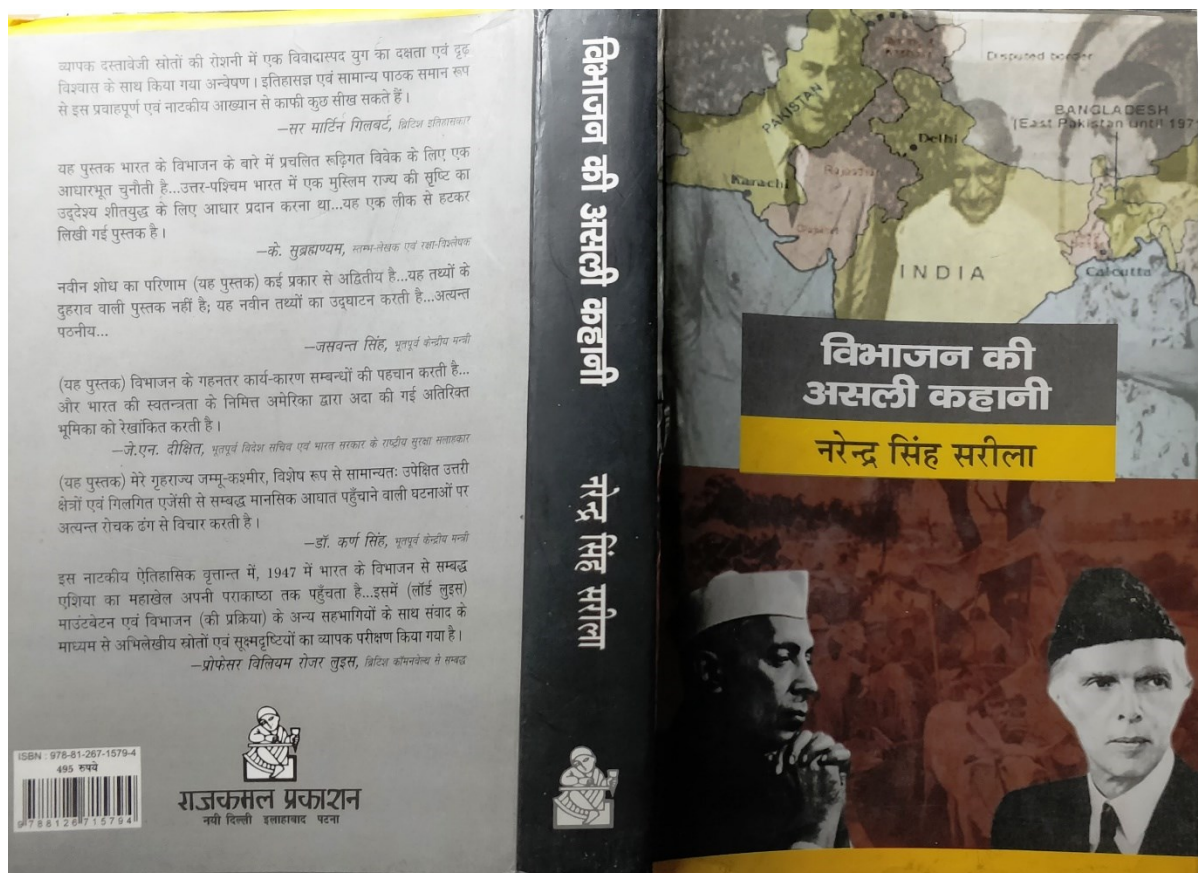
In terms of police tortures, Maharashtra is at no. one in country as it recorded highest custodial deaths of 22 in year 2011, followed only by Gujarat. Arun was allowed to meet his family for first time after a month and half of custody and torture. Since Arun did not confess as per their wish despite tortures, he was slapped as many as eleven cases, some for taking police custody/remand for

torturing him, some to extend his stay in jail. He was not bailed for years, despite having good advocates. The tag of 'dreaded Maoist' was enough to deny bail in any court! All chapters begin with drawing of jail by author and extracts from his letter to family. Second chapter is The Anda -most dreaded part of jail where he was kept. In this chapter Arun narrates how he came across radical movement in his college days through a friend Karthik Pannalal, who died in an accident in Delhi in 1977, but he got Arun join radical student organisation-Vidyarthi Pragati Sangthan, which was part of All India Revolutionary Students Federation. After college, he joined Naujwan Bharat Sabha, set up by Shaheed Bhagat Singh in 1926. Arun refers to many co-prisoners of Nagpur jail, who had been convicted of many heinous crimes like murder, but committed in compulsive social conditions. Third chapter is Phasi yard-where only those prisoners were kept who were to be hanged. Arun was kept here after agitation to move out of Anda cell. They held many hunger strikes in jail against official apathy and mistreatment of prisoners, who were not treated as per jail manual. Fourth chapter is Gunahkhana-crime yard-there is a bootlegger who died due to jail officers' mistreatment and led to massive agitation. Arun has been teaching English to co-prisoners and has been reading number of novels and books some from jail library, but more from getting outside. He also did Diploma in Human rights from a Delhi institute through online and forced jail authorities to give permission for it. He refers to how Shahid Azmi arrested did his law degree in jail and later became a lawyer in Mumbai, but was assassinated later for taking up mostly Muslim cases, accused of terror crimes. On which Hansal Mehta made biopic. 5<sup>th</sup> Chapter is Hope, since Arun was being acquitted in many cases, there was a hope of release, but he was picked up at jail gate after release, rather abducted and trapped in two more cases. 6<sup>th</sup> Chapter is Lal Gate, the day of release and abduction. 7<sup>th</sup> and last chapter is Beyond Lal Gate-the date of his final release, when the two more forced cases also fell through and on 4<sup>th</sup> January 2012 he was finally released, though there was still a fear of another arrest. His final acquittal from a bailed out case happened in 2014. He has briefly commented on post release feelings of confusion and readjusting to life, but he is happy that he got lot of support from friends and others.



**In acknowledgements he has thanked many of his friends for selfless support extended to him and his family during this turbulent time. This is really touching memoir of jail from an innocent sensitive chronicler of our times. It has been translated in Punjabi recently by Rahul Amaninder, a Doctor and ex journalist. (Read on 7-10<sup>th</sup> January)**

**4. Narender Singh Sarila, Vibhajan ki asli Kahani, translation by Varsha Surve, 2008,Rajkamal, Delhi, pages 408,price 495/₹**



This book is translation of The untold story of Partition: The shadow of Great game, published in 2006. Author was a king of small state of Sarila and was ADC to last Indian Viceroy Lord Mountbatten. Recently a film has also been made on the basis of this book- The Viceroy House or Partition.. Book is based on some official documents, which author accessed due to his senior official position. Book is written in matter of fact way and shows most of the leaders having feet of clay, including Gandhi and Jinnah, icons of Post partition India and Pakistan. The author has put Mountbatten in a bit better light, showing Wavel and Linlithgow in favour of Jinnah and MUSLIM league. Churchill was anti Gandhi and arrogant colonialist. Book is divided into fourteen chapters with introduction, Acknowledgments, Post word and index. From such books it seems partition was inevitable, but it's shape could be different and one million lives lost and ten million migration could had been avoided or minimised with more rational and dispassionate handling of situation. Perhaps Cripps proposals of

1942&46 could had been better option, which Congress rejected out rightly, though Jinnah could have agreed. The indecent haste in pushing partition by Mountbatten was no less responsible for this holocaust in a Indian sub-continent. International policies of Britain and US of diehard anti communism with containment of Soviet Union were also responsible for this massive tragedy.

Author has tried to be objective in analysing partition phenomenon and it is one of major publication on 1947 Indian partition.

(Read between 10-15th January)

5. नाजीवादी जर्मनी की मनोदशा, कार्ल जी युंग, अनुवाद दिगंबर, गार्गी प्रकाशन, दिल्ली, 2017, पृष्ठ 108 , मूल्य 60/ रुपये

This is an interesting book, but neither translation is good, nor has been presented properly. Karl Yung, one of three founders of Psychology discipline, along with Freud and Adler, has written against Hitler fascism, was not known much. Yung wrote few articles between 1936 and 1946, which were published in book form in 1946 in German and was translated in 1947 in English and 80 years later Digambar translated it in Hindi, but without giving any introduction of Yung or contextualising it in modern times. Book includes four major articles and introduction and conclusion. Votan, Psychiatry Today, Psychiatry and philosophy of life and after destruction. Yung has underlined the psychological affect of fascist rule of Nazi regime in Germany.

An important book, wish could read in English to comprehend it better.

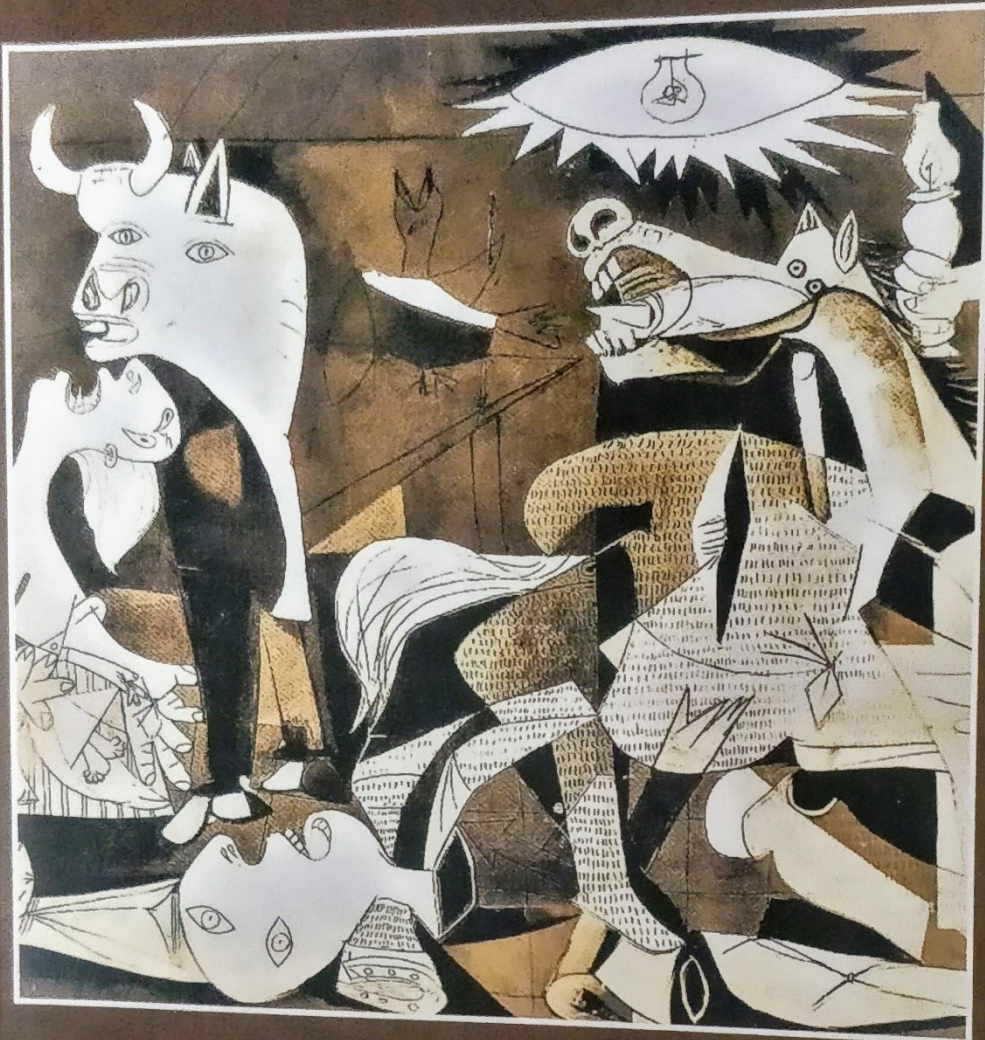
(Read between 26<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> January)



कार्ल जी युंग

# नाजीवादी जर्मनी की मनोदशा

सामयिक घटनाओं पर निबन्ध



अनुवाद : दिगम्बर

गंगा  
प्रकाशन



## February 2018-Books

### **6. Social Movements in India, A Calendar of Resistance: Resource book, Concept Smitu Kothari, Intercultural Resources, Delhi, 2009/12, pages 93**

This is good resource booklet for brief glance on historic movements of resistance during colonial and post-colonial period, especially of labour or working class movements. This work was done when Smitu Kothari was alive and source of inspiration for this team consisting of P T George as research coordinator, Ena Lupine as main researcher and Heena Janwari, Anandita Vyas as her co-researchers with editorial support from Tarini Manchanda, Anjali George and Sherin Sabu Book is dedicated to Smitu Kothari, its first edition came out in 2009 and updated second edition in 2012. Apart from 80 page calendar of events from January to December, the book includes brief introduction, list of abbreviations, some data figures at the end of the book including list of various labour and other acts. Since my more interest was on colonial period resistance by working classes, I have noted more dates from that period and fewer from post-colonial period. Some of the events which I put my pen on are-

#### January

1. 1<sup>st</sup> January 1920-Textile mill workers strike begins in Bombay.
2. 1<sup>st</sup> January 1950-Kerala Sooranand workers struggle-5 die in police clash
3. 1<sup>st</sup> January 2010-585 day HMT Workers strike begins
4. 2<sup>nd</sup> January-3<sup>rd</sup> February 1920-2 lakh workers strike in Bombay
5. 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1926-Provincial Trade Union Congress in Bombay  
(Book reference-A R Desai and Sunil Dighe-Labour Movements in India-in many volumes by ICHR)
6. 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1990-Supreme Court ruling-Casual-Regular workers not equal
7. 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2003-First Asian Social Forum at Hyderabad
8. 4<sup>th</sup> January 1947-Tebhaga movement begins Cachar, firing on demonstrator in Dinajpur, Books-Ashok Majumdar-Tebhaga Movement in Bengal

9. 5<sup>th</sup> January 1920-Bombay mill workers strike-Bombay Girni Kamgar Sangh
10. 5<sup>th</sup> January 1950-Tebhaga activist arrested in Chandipur
11. 7<sup>th</sup> January 1948-Tebhaga Kisan Sammellan in Gumra
12. 7<sup>th</sup> January 1950-2000 soldiers burn 12 villages-Tebhaga
13. 8<sup>th</sup> January 1920-Postmen strike in Bombay
14. 8<sup>th</sup> January 1934-Police firing on striking mill workers of Bombay
15. 9<sup>th</sup> January 1919-First industry wise general strike in Bombay
16. 9-10 January 1926-Sixth AITUC conference in Madras
17. 16-21<sup>st</sup> January 2004-World Social forum Bombay
18. 18<sup>th</sup> January 1982-Two and half lakh Textile workers strike in Bombay
19. 20-31<sup>st</sup> January 1920-20000 mill workers strike in Rangoon
20. 26<sup>th</sup> January 1919-16000 textile mill workers strike in Sholapur
21. 28<sup>th</sup> January 1865-birthdate of Lala Lajpat Rai-ist AITUC President

#### February

1. 12<sup>th</sup> February 1928-No tax campaign by Bardoli peasants
2. 14<sup>th</sup> February 1943-birthdate of Shankar Guha Niyogi
3. 14<sup>th</sup> February 1981-All India Bank Officers Association(AIBOA)formed
4. 20<sup>th</sup> February 1947-22 militant farmers of Tebhaga killed in clash
5. 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1946-Royal Navy revolt crushed
6. 24<sup>th</sup> February-29<sup>th</sup> March 1920-First TISCO workers strike in Jamshedpur, leading to another massive strike in 1922
7. 28<sup>th</sup> February-1<sup>st</sup> March 1947-Tebhaga Bangladesh conference Surma Valley
8. 28<sup>th</sup> February 1976-Bonded Labour abolition act passed

#### March

1. 1<sup>st</sup> March 1947-Four killed in firing on Tebhaga peasant
2. 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1937-Massive jute mill workers strike in Calcutta
3. 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1977-CMSS-Chhatisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh formed
4. 4<sup>th</sup> March 1935-Tile workers strike in Malabar-Kerala
5. 5<sup>th</sup> March 1940-40 day textile workers strike in Bombay

6. 8<sup>th</sup> March 1948-five peasant killed in Tebhaga movement
7. 10<sup>th</sup> March 1940-Three and half lakh workers solidarity with Maharashtra state textile workers strike
8. 12<sup>th</sup> March 1918-first mill workers strike in Bombay by 1 lakh plus workers
9. 14<sup>th</sup> March 1885-Bengal Tenancy act passed
10. 15<sup>th</sup> March 1948-Minimum Wages act passed
11. 18<sup>th</sup> March 1918-Ahmedabad Textile workers compromise
12. 22<sup>nd</sup> March 1920-First all India labour conference
13. 27<sup>th</sup> March 1973-Chipko movement
14. 29<sup>th</sup> March 1937-All Bengal Jute workers conference

#### April

1. 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1939-Ten thousand plus Assam Oil workers strike in Digboi and Tinsukia
2. 7<sup>th</sup> April 1920-Ahmedabad Mill workers compromise on wages
3. 9-10<sup>th</sup> April 1939-Tebhaga movement 4<sup>th</sup> All India kisan sabha session
4. 10<sup>th</sup> April 1859-Bengali farmers forced to grow Indigo (Dinbandhu Mitra play-1859)
5. 11<sup>th</sup> April 1936-Formation of All India Kisan Sabha at Lucknow
6. 15<sup>th</sup> April 1881-First Indian factories act passed
7. 20<sup>th</sup> April 1946-AIBEA-All India Bank Employees Association formed
8. 21<sup>st</sup> April 1908-Widespread Telegraphs strike all over India
9. 21<sup>st</sup> April 1928-Sholapur spinning and weaving workers strike
10. 24<sup>th</sup> April 1890-First union in India formed-Bombay Mill hands association
11. 24<sup>th</sup> April 1920-Bombay dock workers strike ends
12. 24<sup>th</sup> April 1973-formal Chipko movement begins
13. 26<sup>th</sup> April 1928-one and half lakh Bombay Textile mill workers strike
14. 27<sup>th</sup> April 1918-Madras labour union formed
15. 29<sup>th</sup> April 1926-All India Depressed classes conference in Nagpur

## May

1. 1<sup>st</sup> May 1923-First May day celebration in India(First Communist party in South India formed by C S Singaravelu) first May day held at Madras by Labour kisan party of Hindustan, red flag flown first time in India.
2. 1<sup>st</sup> May 1949-UTUC-United Trade Union Congress formed by RSP
3. 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1955-Kanpur textile workers strike
4. 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1920-Ahmedabad Spinners strike
5. 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1947-INTUC founded by Congress party
6. 4<sup>th</sup> May 1939-AOC workers strike-300 labourers shouted slogans-Down with Capitalists, Long live revolution
7. 5<sup>th</sup> May 1921-Assam-Bengal Railway workers union formed under J M Sengupta
8. 5<sup>th</sup> May 1921-Assam Coolies Tea plantation strike
9. 8<sup>th</sup> May 1974-Historic biggest Railway strike led by George Fernandez, called off on 27<sup>th</sup> May
10. 14<sup>th</sup> May 1924-House of Commons debate on Indian labour conditions
11. 16<sup>th</sup> May 1938-Marwar Lok Parishad formed against oppression of Marwar farmers
12. 18<sup>th</sup> May 1967-Naxalbari landless peasant movement begins
13. 19<sup>th</sup> May 1925-Vaikom satyagraha-Kerala
14. 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1927-Over one lakh TISCO workers strike in Jamshedpur(Book-Making of Indian Working class-1860-1946-Vinay Bahl)
15. 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1925-Railway Employees conference at Trichinopoly
16. 24<sup>th</sup> May 1921-Asam-Bengal railway workers solidarity strike
17. 24<sup>th</sup> May 1921-Coir workers movement in Kerala
18. 24<sup>th</sup> May 1967-police party ambushed in Naxalbari
19. 25<sup>th</sup> May 1920-GIP Railway men strike Matunga
20. 28<sup>th</sup> May 1974-Biggest Railway strike ends-More than a crore and half casual labourers terminated

## June

1. 1<sup>st</sup> June 1927-Indian Trade Union act comes to force
2. 1<sup>st</sup> June 1928-48 hour TISCO workers strike by 15000

3. **3<sup>rd</sup> June 1925-6000 Railway workers strike at Gorakhpur**
4. **6<sup>th</sup> June 1934-Coolies strike work for wage increase**
5. **12<sup>th</sup> June 1840-First anti-slavery conference in London**
6. **24<sup>th</sup> June 1855-Predial slavery abolished in Travancore(K.N Ramchandran-The History of Trade Union movement in Kerala-Book)**
7. **30<sup>th</sup> June 1927-Land assessment raised in Bardoli leading to first massive peasant campaign in India-12<sup>th</sup> June 1928-Bardoli victory day declared by Gandhi**
8. **30h June 1946-Kerala Trade Union Congress protest**

### July

1. **1<sup>st</sup> July 1924-Workman compensation act and Indian mines act forced**
2. **1<sup>st</sup> July 1927-Indian Mines act comes into force**
3. **4<sup>th</sup> July 1937-massive strike by 12000 Indian iron and steel company**
4. **4<sup>th</sup> July 1997-1.3 million Bank employees strike**
5. **9<sup>th</sup> July 1927-Labour unrest in South India-Madras**
6. **11<sup>th</sup> July 1939-100 day meeting on AOC strike**
7. **12<sup>th</sup> July 1908-First political workers strike against Tilak trial**
8. **14<sup>th</sup> July 1789-Beginning of French Revolution**
9. **18<sup>th</sup> July 1920-Dibru-Sadiya Railway worker strike**
10. **19<sup>th</sup> July-1922-Travancore labour Association founded**
11. **23<sup>rd</sup> July 1955-BMS-Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh founded**
12. **24<sup>th</sup> July 1938-Tranvancore Coir factory workers union**
13. **26<sup>th</sup> July 1927-First session of Madras Provincial labour conference**

### August

1. **6<sup>th</sup> August 1939-All India Digboi day by workers**
2. **6<sup>th</sup> August 2003-Supreme Court denies right to strike to workers**
3. **7<sup>th</sup> August 1946-3 day strike against starvation by Kerala trade unions**
4. **9<sup>th</sup> August 1937-Kanpur textiles workers strike ends**
5. **11<sup>th</sup> August 1948-Tebhaga leader Madhav Nath dies in jail**
6. **15<sup>th</sup> August 1920-Railway employees demand pay increase at Kharagpur**
7. **20<sup>th</sup> August 2008-80 crores workers strike in 12<sup>th</sup> All India general strike**



8. 21<sup>st</sup> August 1928-TISCO workers strike
9. 24<sup>th</sup> August 1946- South Indian railway strike
10. 26<sup>th</sup> August 1928-10000 plus TISCO workers protest demonstrations
11. 29<sup>th</sup> August 1985-First negotiated settlement between IBA and AIBOA-Bank Officers

### September

1. 1<sup>st</sup> September 1920-Asiatic Petroleum Company strike-Assam-Burma
2. 5<sup>th</sup> September 1882-First Labour day celebration in USA
3. 9<sup>th</sup> September 1946-Punnapra revolt-Allepy AITUC meeting announce strike
4. 12<sup>th</sup> September 1920-1500 Post-Telegraph departments on strike
5. 13<sup>th</sup> September 1948-Army suppresses Telangana revolt-16000 square miles liberated in 3000 villages-50000 strong army suppress and restores land to landlords
6. 15<sup>th</sup> September 1946-Alleppey coir workers strike
7. 19<sup>th</sup> September 1968-One day strike by Railwaymen's federation
8. 19<sup>th</sup> September 1988-First ever workers takeover of factory-Kamani tools ltd
9. 20<sup>th</sup> September 1917-First Bombay Postal strike
10. 20<sup>th</sup> September 1920-Bombay postmen strike
11. 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1948-The factories act of 1948 passed
12. 23<sup>rd</sup> September 1884-First ever Industrial workers meeting in India
13. 28<sup>th</sup> September 1991-Shankar Guha Niyogi shot dead

### October

1. 1<sup>st</sup> October 1904-birthdate of A K Gopaln-22<sup>nd</sup> March 1977
2. 1<sup>st</sup> October 1920-Gas workers strike in Bombay
3. 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1939-Nintey thousand Bombay workers stage first ever anti-war strike
4. 4<sup>th</sup> October 1928-Five month old Bombay Textile workers strike called off
5. 5<sup>th</sup> October 1932-Vasant Mill workers strike for right to form union

6. 6<sup>th</sup> October 1925-Peasant international Moscow condoles death of Deshbandhu Chittranjan Das
7. 6<sup>th</sup> October 1927-Kharagpur labour strike
8. 6<sup>th</sup> October 1928-Sholapur spinning-weaving strike spreads to four more mills
9. 7<sup>th</sup> October 1927-Blackpool Labour conference favour Indian self-determination and release of Bengal detunes
10. 16<sup>th</sup> October 1906-Jute mill workers, Colie and 12000 Burn worker on strike in Calcutta
11. 17<sup>th</sup> October 1946-Punnappra-Vayalar report-camps
12. 18<sup>th</sup> October 1926-3000 Bombay mill workers strike
13. 21<sup>st</sup> October 1951-Telangana Armed struggle called off-September 1948-51-10000 jailed, 50000 tortured
14. 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1938-50000 coir workers strike in Kerala-
15. 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1946-30 coir workers killed in attack on Punnappra police camp
16. 25<sup>th</sup> October 1921-33000 workers of 47 mills strike in Ahmedabad
17. 25<sup>th</sup> October 1946-Martial law in Alappuzha to crush coir workers
18. 27<sup>th</sup> October 1946-50 workers killed in army attack on Punnappra-Vayalar workers camps
19. 30<sup>th</sup> October 1928-Simon Commission protest attacked in Lahore critically injuring Lala Lajpat Rai
20. 31<sup>st</sup> October 1921-AITUC founded by Lala Lajpat Rai and others at Bombay-since 1945 attached with CPI
21. 31<sup>st</sup> October 1937-Huge workers rally in Calcutta
22. 31<sup>st</sup> October 1946-AITUC calls of Coir workers Punnappra-Vayalar revolt

## November

1. 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1928-Unskilled Assam match workers strike in Dubri
2. 8-11<sup>th</sup> November 1982-First conference of All India Agricultural workers union(AIAWU)-CPM

3. 12<sup>th</sup> November 1946-Martial Law withdrawn from Punnappra-Vayalar ending revolt in Travancore
4. 17<sup>th</sup> November 1928-Lala Lajpat Rai dies in Lahore
5. 18<sup>th</sup> November 1907-Bengal railway strike for 43 demands charter, Port workers join in solidarity
6. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1921-Tramway company workers strike in Bombay
7. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1988-Intellectuals/artists/students March in support of Industrial workers strike in Delhi
8. 22<sup>nd</sup> November 1988-seven day general strike by CITU in Delhi
9. 24<sup>th</sup> November-2<sup>nd</sup> December-17000 woollen mill workers in Kanpur go on strike

#### December

1. 1<sup>st</sup> December 1949-1000 peasants of Tebhaga movement attack police-Book-Ranjan Girban Biswa-Peasant Movement in North-East India (1946-50)
2. 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2006-Singur protest
3. 6<sup>th</sup> December 1977-Massacre of Swadeshi Cotton mills workers in Kanpur
4. 7<sup>th</sup> December 1919-9<sup>th</sup> January 1920-16000 Railwaymen strike in Jamalpur
5. 7<sup>th</sup> December 1925-Bombay mills strike ends-45 thousand workers of 65 mills resume work
6. 18<sup>th</sup> December 1938-Huge Kisan-workers rally at Kasaragod march to Mangalore
7. 27<sup>th</sup> December 1918-Genral strike in Century mills Bombay for bonus
8. 29<sup>th</sup> December 1918-One lakh workers strike in Bombay closing all mils
9. 29<sup>th</sup> December 1938-Tata Oil Mill Workers Union formed in Kerala

163 event noted in a yearly calendar of resistance, maximum 22 in October.

Useful reference



intercultural  
resources

Social Movements in India

# A CALENDAR OF **RESISTANCE**

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RESOURCE BOOK

Concept

**Smitu Kothari**

Research Coordination

**PT George**

Research

**Ena Lupine**

Additional Research

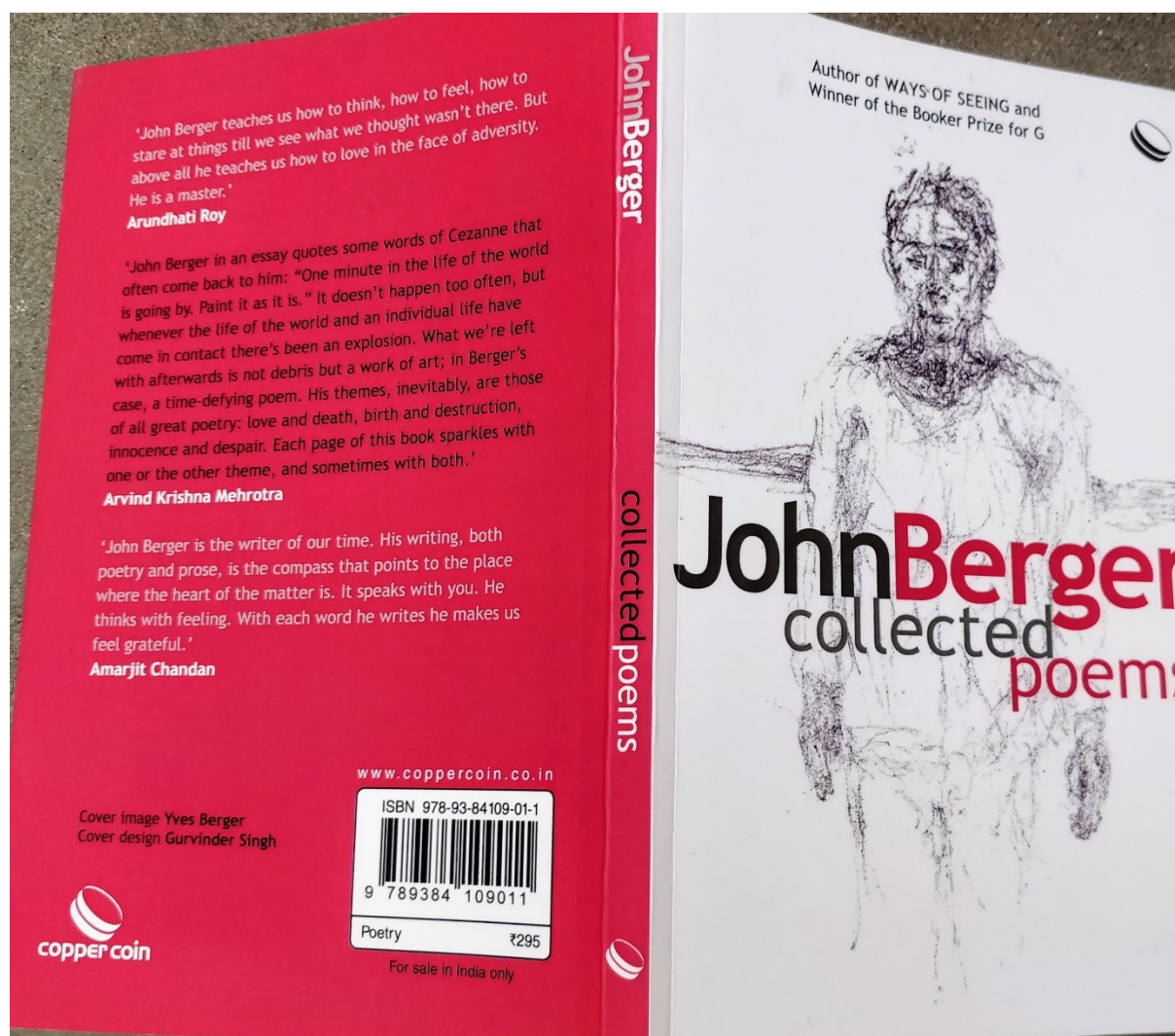
**Heena Janwari, Anandita Vyas**

Editorial Support

**Tarini Manchanda, Anjali George, Sherin Sabu**



**7. Collected Poems, John Berger, Copper Coin, Ghaziabad,  
2015, Pages 138, Price 295/ Rupees**

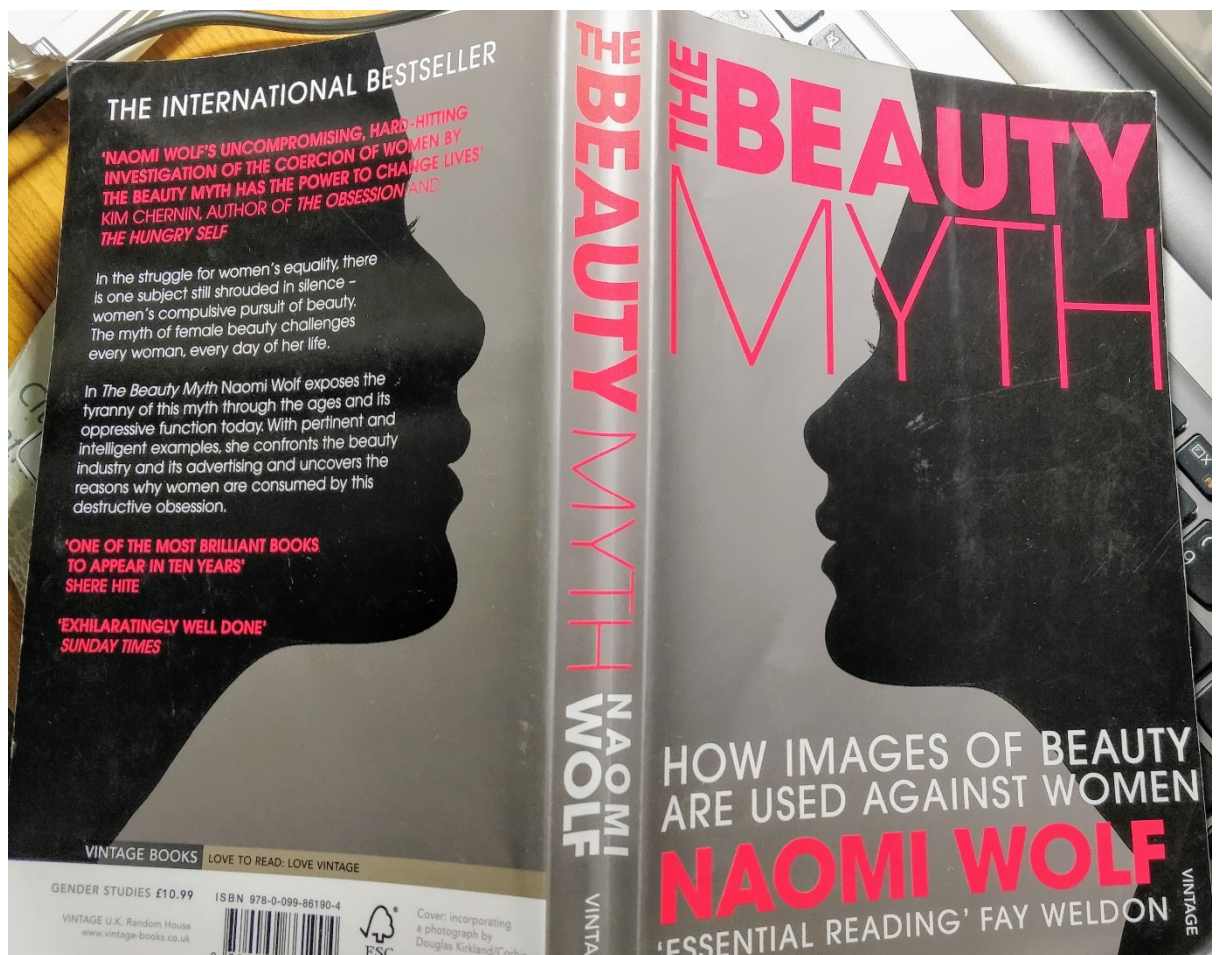


John Berger is world renowned writer, known for his classic book-‘Ways of Seeing’, a sort of philosophising treatise. But John Berger was a poet too and this is collection of his complete poetry. He lives in a village in France and was born in London in 1926. John Berger has his first poem @26 years and this collection has his poems till 2008. Apart from Ways of Seeing, Berger’s other known books, including his poetry collection are-Permanent Red, , A Painter of Our Time, Once in Europa, The Seventh Man, The White bird and Pages of the Wound and more. Collection is dedicated to Beverley -mistress of each page!

There are a total of 93 poems divided in six sections. At each section, there is pencil sketch also added. John Berger is very sensitive and aesthetic poet.

(Read in first week of February)

## 8. Beauty Myth, Naomi Wolf, Vintage Books, London, 1991, Pages 348, 10.99 Pounds



Naomi Wolf was born in 1962, she studied at Yale, before becoming Rhodes Scholar at Oxford and working in Edinburgh. Beauty Myth was first published in 1990, since then it has become a classic book. It was followed by Fire with Fire, Promiscuities, Misconceptions and latest The Tree House. The book is divided into eight chapters along with, Acknowledgements, Index, Notes and Bibliography. Book is focused on the business in the name of Beauty, by which women are kept in subjugation.

Book starts with interesting philosophical quotes-



*It is far more difficult to murder a phantom than a reality*

-Virginia Wolf

*The fear of freedom is strong within us-Germaine Greer*

The first chapter of the book itself has title-*The Beauty Myth*-

Author refers to the feminist movement of early 1970's, which gained women legal and reproductive right and more social rights to profession etc, but Wolf poses the question-A generation on, do women feel free?

She thinks that affluent women of the first world, freer than any women, don't feel as free. Naomi opines that sexual revolution though promoted female sexuality, but it brought 'beauty pornography and artificially linked commodified 'beauty' directly and explicitly to sexuality. Every generation since 1830 has had to fight its version of beauty myth. In 1962, Betty Friedan quoted young woman in *Feminine Mystique*-Oh I am going to look like my mother! Eight year later Germaine Greer spoke on stereo type.

Naomi tells that beauty myth has a story that 'strong men battle for beautiful women'! "Beauty' is not universal or changeless, though west pretends to have an ideal of beauty stemming from some Platonic ideal woman. Though this ideal woman change faster than evolutions of species. Maori admire a fat vulva, Padung-droopy breasts. Even Charles Darwin or anthropologists rejected the notion that females must be 'beautiful' to be selected to be mate!

Beauty myth never had any fixed pattern. In Mediterranean times-from about 25000 BC to about 700 BC, Goddess had many lovers- and clear pattern of an older woman with a beautiful but expendable youth- Ishtar and Tammuz, Venus and Adonis. In 1840's-first nude photographs of prostitutes were taken to show 'beautiful' women! Author suggests that 'The Beauty Myth' of the present is more insidious than any mystique of femininity yet. A century ago-Nora slammed the door of the doll's house, but where women are trapped today, there is no door to slam. Ravages of beauty backlash are destroying women physically, depleting her psychologically. Women need first to have new way to see, before resorting to ballots, lobbyists or placards.

Second chapter is devoted to 'Work'-Author asserts that men use 'beauty' as a form of currency, ideas about 'beauty' have evolved during Industrial revolution along with those of 'money'-both virtual parallels in consumer

economy. Author informs that ‘with the decay of Feminine Mystique’, women swelled in work force. From 31.8% in World War II to 53.4% in 1984. 2/3 Women aged from 25 to 54 hold jobs. 77% women hold jobs in Sweden, 55% French women and 63% British women had job in 1986. Author opines, -women work hard-twice as hard as men-A woman after doing full time paid work, she does all unpaid homework, without any division of labour at home. Between 1960 to 1990, in US, women lawyers and judges arose from 7500 to 180,000, Doctor from 15672 to 108,200.

At work place too, ‘Beauty’ has turned into necessary qualification for women’s rise in power.

Third chapter is focussed on ‘Culture’. Culture stereotyping make-women either ‘beautiful’ or ‘intelligent’, not both! Literary references of Chekhov-Cherry Orchard, Shakespeare-Midsummer Night’s dream, James Joyce-Portrait of an artist as a Youngman, Thomas Hardy Tess of D’Urbervilles - etc. In nineteenth century women’s magazines like The Queen, Harper’s Bazar were set up. In 1970’s The Ladies Home Journal was targeted by women activists. In 1980’s pornographic magazines started with 7 billion dollars business. Sweden is most pornographic country. Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler are most widely read journals in US and Canada. Beauty contests started in Moscow, Cuba and Bulgaria in 1990’s.

Fourth chapter is given title of –Religion. Magazines have turned beauty myth to be a new religion. Beauty’s caste system decided by men, who themselves are not judged for ‘Beauty’! Rites of beauty are for completion of woman by manmade ways to perfect it. Prettiness, cosmetic surgery, advertisements of luxury are way of creating ‘Beauty Myth’.

Working women face sexual harassment and hostile work place, under attack every day from ‘unseen’ aggressors. 1/6 women are raped, 44% suffer attempted rape world over. In US, 21% married women face sexual abuse, 1/7 women raped in Britain by husbands, 2/3 marriages in US end in divorce. In US just 5% women in top managerial job. Stress and tension. In Bangladesh/Mexico, 1/10 women get divorced. There is no sensitivity in sexual relations-men are interested only in their gratification. Fear of being fat has been turned into a cult. Religion says that beauty of a woman is not her own, just as the old creed says that her

sexuality belongs to others. Christopher Lasch in 'The Culture of Narcissism' tells about people's fixation on staying young.

Fifth chapter is focussed on-'Sex'-Wolf declares that Religious guilt suppresses women's sexuality. Author confirms that women's sexual urge and capacity is more than men and religion tries to suppress her pleasure. Author also explains that sexual urge is shaped by society and even animals have to learn to be sexual. Playboy journal made its debut in 1958 and pill came to US in 1960. In 1973/75 US and Europe got abortion as legal. Women are insatiable sexually, opines author. But only 40% British women masturbated by the age of forty versus 90% of men. Sudanese society's circumcised 88% women had orgasm. Women's experience of violence from their lover is epidemic. One and half million US women assaulted by their partners every year. Child sexual abuse is equally prevalent in US, data suggests that 100 million young girls may be raped by adults, mainly fathers year by year. Most common reaction of rape survivors is feeling of worthlessness and eating disorders. In a survey of undergraduate men- 91% like to dominate a woman, 86% like conquest part of sex, and 61% would like to use force to subdue a woman. Some women do feel sexual pleasure at the thought of men's money or power, so some men feel pleasure from women's. 50% girls think of rape to be OK. Beauty is neither related to sex, nor love.

Ideal beauty is ideal, because it does not exist.

*Femaleness and its sexuality are beautiful. Women have long secretly suspected as much. In that sexuality, women are physically beautiful already: superb; breath-taking.* (Page 177)

*Sexual beauty is an equal portion that belongs to both men and women, and the capacity to be dazzled is gender blind.* Page 178

Sixth chapter is Hunger-Fat is sexual in women. Anorexia is political damage done to women by a social order. It is a prison camp.

Seventh chapter is violence, begins with some quotes-

One must suffer to be beautiful-French proverb

Women must labour to be beautiful-W.B.Yeats

Two lakh to one million US women have their breasts cut open to look beautiful. 25 million African women are sexually mutilated.

Women's desire for beauty is termed as narcissism by author. Valium abuse is most common drug problem among women. The machine is at the door. Is she the future? - a valid question is raised by Naomi Wolf.

Eighth and last chapter is 'Beyond the Beauty Myth.

Questions raised by author-Is beauty really sex?

Are women beautiful or are not we?

The real problem is our lack of choice.

Third wave Feminist face these questions, as per Naomi Wolf.

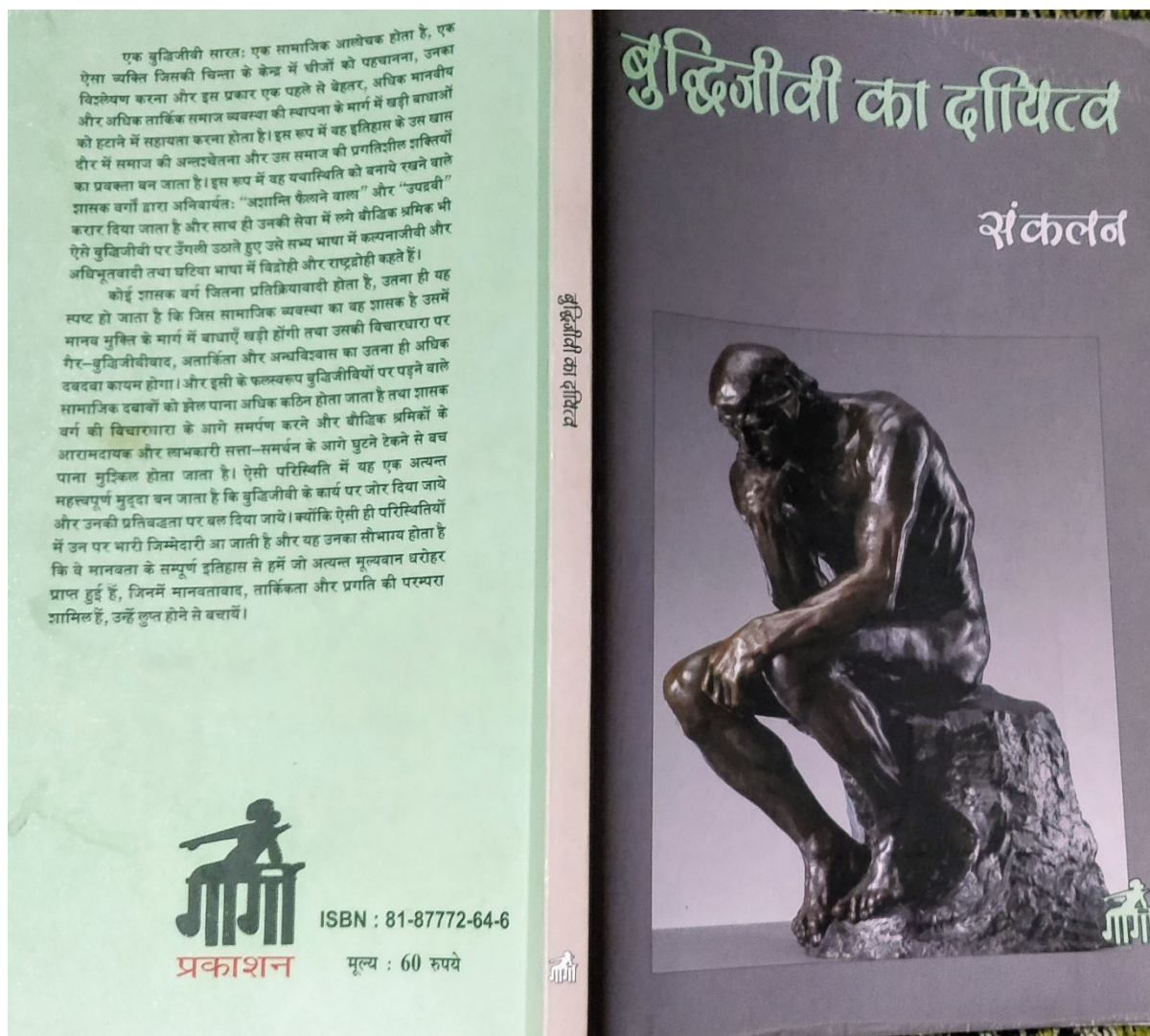
In acknowledgements, author has thanked her family and friends. Notes, Bibliography and Index is further given.

It is an important study in women condition in society.

(Read between January-February)

9. बुद्धिजीवी का दायित्व, संकलन, आनंद स्वरूप वर्मा, २०१८, गार्गी प्रकाशन दिल्ली, २०१८, पृष्ठ

१०८ ,मूल्य 60/ रुपए



This translated book includes writings from eight internationally renowned writers and intellectuals on the theme of responsibility of intellectuals especially in times of social crisis. It has introduction by Anand Swarup Verma. Verma refers to his visit to Nigeria in 2004. Nigeria got freedom in 1960, but soon became victim of military rule. Nigerian society respect its writers, giving example of Wole Soyinka. He refers to Ken Saro Viva hanging in 10<sup>th</sup> November 1995 for organising people against oil company exploitation. He compares Kenyan writer Ngugie to Premchand.



The first essay in book is of Paul Baran, a Marxist economist and Stanford University Professor, who died young. He was a comrade of Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff of Monthly Review, whose founder editor was Baran also. It is his May 1961 essay- The Commitment of Intellectual. It is his 27<sup>th</sup> December 1960 lecture, published later in MR. Baran focusses upon the desire and courage to speak truth by intellectuals. He is essentially a ‘social critic’, who is dubbed as anti-national and traitor by establishment. Next two essays are translation of Gramsci’s –The Making of Intellectuals and Difference between rural and urban intellectuals. He opines earlier Christian priests as intellectuals and focusses upon ‘Organic intellectual’s coming from movements. He opines rural intellectuals to be ‘traditional and urban intellectuals as part of industry. Edward Saeed article-The role of intellectual- is one of important contribution to the volume. Saeed appreciates University as a place for knowledge and for freedom of expression. He quotes 18<sup>th</sup> century British writer Johnson, who says- Patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels. He exposes USA for fighting wars or attacking other nations for his interests of oil. Saeed sees danger to intellectual freedom from ‘patriotism’, his expertise in subject with aloofness from society, his relations with establishment, fourth danger is ‘deity worship’. Saeed says he prefers to keep away from establishment and thinks intellectuals should try to speak truth, how much inconvenient it may be. Next essay is from Bertrand Russell-The role of intellectual in modern world. Longest essay is from Maxim Gorki-With whom you are-Doyens of Culture? Gorki lambasts preaching of ‘love’ to workers, who should ‘hate’ their oppressors and asks writers/intellectuals with whom should they stand in the class war between working class and bourgeoisie? It is his 1932 speech. Michael D Yates has an interesting essay-‘Let me have permanent job once!’ He exposes the intellectuals who are used to say that once they get their job confirmed then they will show their true ‘radicalism’, of course which never happens, they become more entrenched in system after becoming ‘permanent’, only those intellectuals stay on radical path, who take stand for truth even while struggling for job. The last essay is of James Petras-Left intellectuals and their urge to get recognition. Petras also lambasts official ‘left’ intellectuals, who make their career in the name of ‘leftism’ and keep on securing high positions in academic administration and remain close to establishment. This is true about Indian left intellectuals

even more. Some intellectuals are drown in self-pity, some in defeatism, only few uncivilised intellectuals stand with mass movements and are committed. Petras concludes that there is need for having intellectuals who are promoting revolutionary theory and are part of movements, but they have not only to fight capitalism but double faced intellectuls too.

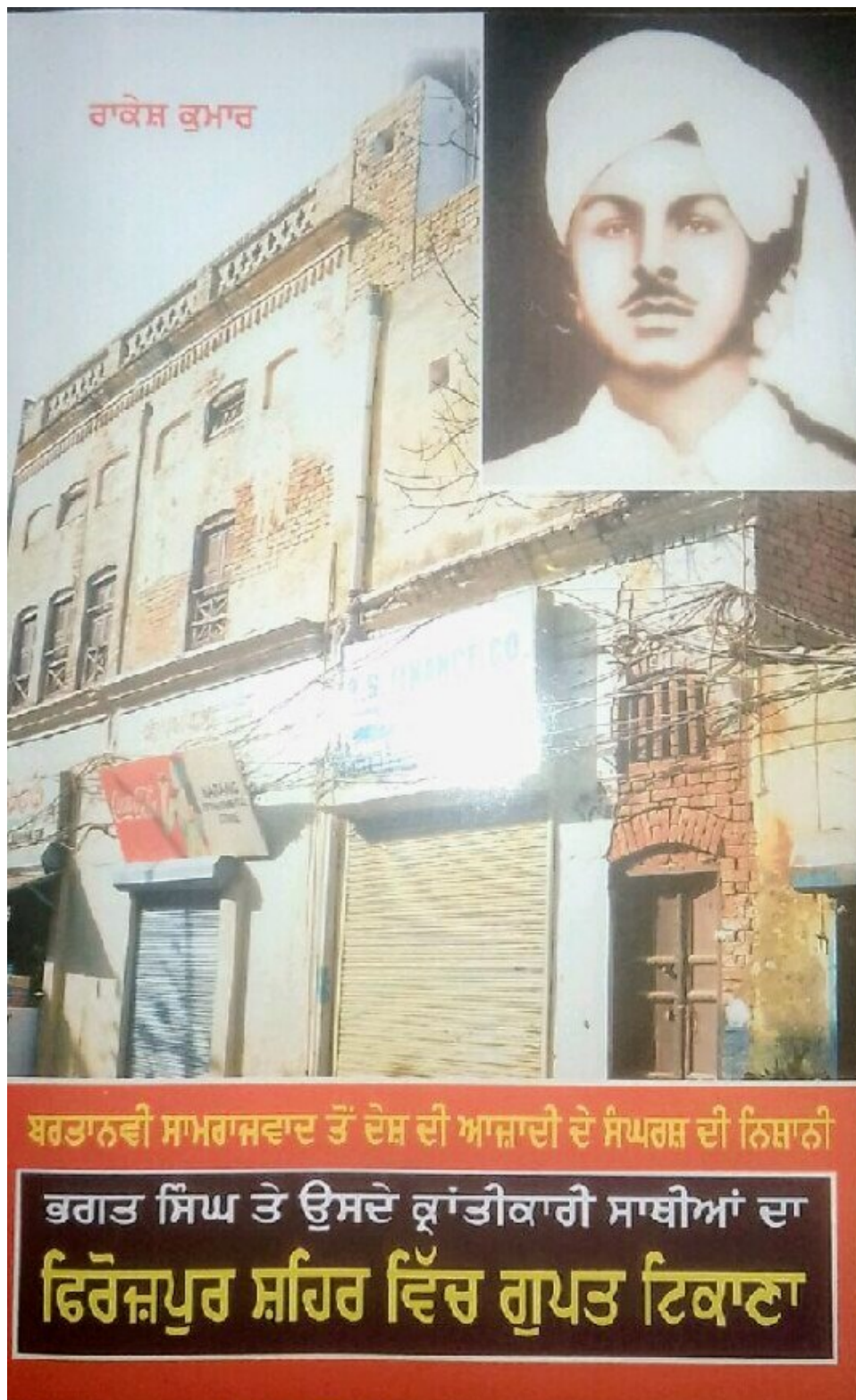
This book is relevant for our times, when there is deep crisis over Universities with fascist forces trying to suppress every democratic and rational voice.

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**10. Panjab Biti-(Punjabi), Dr. Satya Pal, Translated from Urdu by Prem Bhushan Goyal, Language dept Punjab, Patiala, 2014, Pages106, price 115/ Rupees**

**Dr. Satya Pal was eminent freedom fighter from Amritsar, along with Saifudin Kitchlew, both were Punjab Congress tall leaders from Amritsar, which faced General Dyer's brutal attack on Jallianwala Bagh on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1919. This book contains ten stories of brutalities on common people of Amritsar in 1919. The book was originally published in Urdu and was immediately banned by British govt. Dr. Satya Pal was not a writer, but he emotionally responded to 1919 brutalities of British police on people and he narrated in simple style the sufferings of people-Hindu-Sikhs-Muslims all. These are idealist narration without any craft botheration. Importance of such publications lies in their documentation of the given time.**

11. Bhagat Singh te used krantikari saathian da Ferozepur shehar vich gupt tikana,  
Rakesh Kumar, 2017, Tarak Bharti Barnala, pages 120, 100/ Rs.



In 1928, after HRA was converted into HSRA after Delhi meet of revolutionaries on 8-9<sup>th</sup> September at Ferozeshah Kotla grounds, Gaya Prasad

**Shukal was sent to Ferozepur prior to that meeting, as he was trained homeopath and was experienced in working at Doctor at few places earlier, in Ferozepur also, he found a shop and put a board of Dr. B S Nigam's medical shop. BS was for Bhagwan Swarup. This shop remained open for just six months from 10<sup>th</sup> August 1928 to 9<sup>th</sup> February 1929. Sukhdev, who was incharge of Punjab unit of revolutionary group, had made arrangements for the shop. Jai Gopal joined Gaya Prasad as 'servant' with reference from a 'neighbour' in planned manner. It was a semi headquarter or hiding place of revolutionaries and Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Shiv Verma, Mahavir Singh and Chandershekhar Azad visited or stayed at this place for few days. The author of the book is Railway engineer Rakesh Kumar, who coming from Sunam, has earlier authored books on Udham Singh and Ghadarite revolutionaries. Book is not well planned, it is rather collection of Rakesh Kumar's occasional articles from Punjabi newspapers. He campaigned for getting the hiding place of revolutionaries declared as national monument and succeeded in it. There are seventeen small articles plus six appendices, along with bibliography and few pictures of the location and revolutionaries.**

**In this place Mahavir Singh stayed for few weeks for his treatment. Shiv Verma translated Kirti sketches of revolutionaries from Punjabi to Hindi with help from Jai Gopal, who would read in Punjabi and Shiv Verma will translate that in Hindi fro Phansi ank of Chand magazine. Many persons from Ferozepur identified revolutionaries during Lahore conspiracy trial. It was in this place, where Bhagat Singh's long hair were cut and he got into present popular shape of moustached but shaven man. From here Bhagat Singh in his new shape had gone to Bettiah in Bihar to arrange arms to get Yogeh Chatterjee freed from jail. Chand had paid nearly two hundred rupees to Har Narain Kapoor, fictitious name of Shiv Verma, which were produced in court as evidence. After leaving Ferozepur house, Gaya Prasad shifted to Agra first, then he was sent to Saharanpur, from where he was arrested on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1929, two days prior Shiv Verma and Jaidev Kapoor were arrested from there. Sukhdev and Jai Gopal were arrested from Lahore itself on 15<sup>th</sup> April. Mahavir Singh was arrested from Etah, his home place on 19<sup>th</sup> June and Bejoy Kumar Sinha from Crown cinema hall of Braille on 10<sup>th</sup> August 1929. The pistol with which Saundres was assassinated was brought to Ferozepur house also by Bhagat Singh, which was**



seen by Jai Gopal and Gaya Prasad. Memoirs of Shiv Verma, Gaya Prasad about Ferozepur house are given in the book. Bio-sketch of Dr. Gaya Prasad is also given.

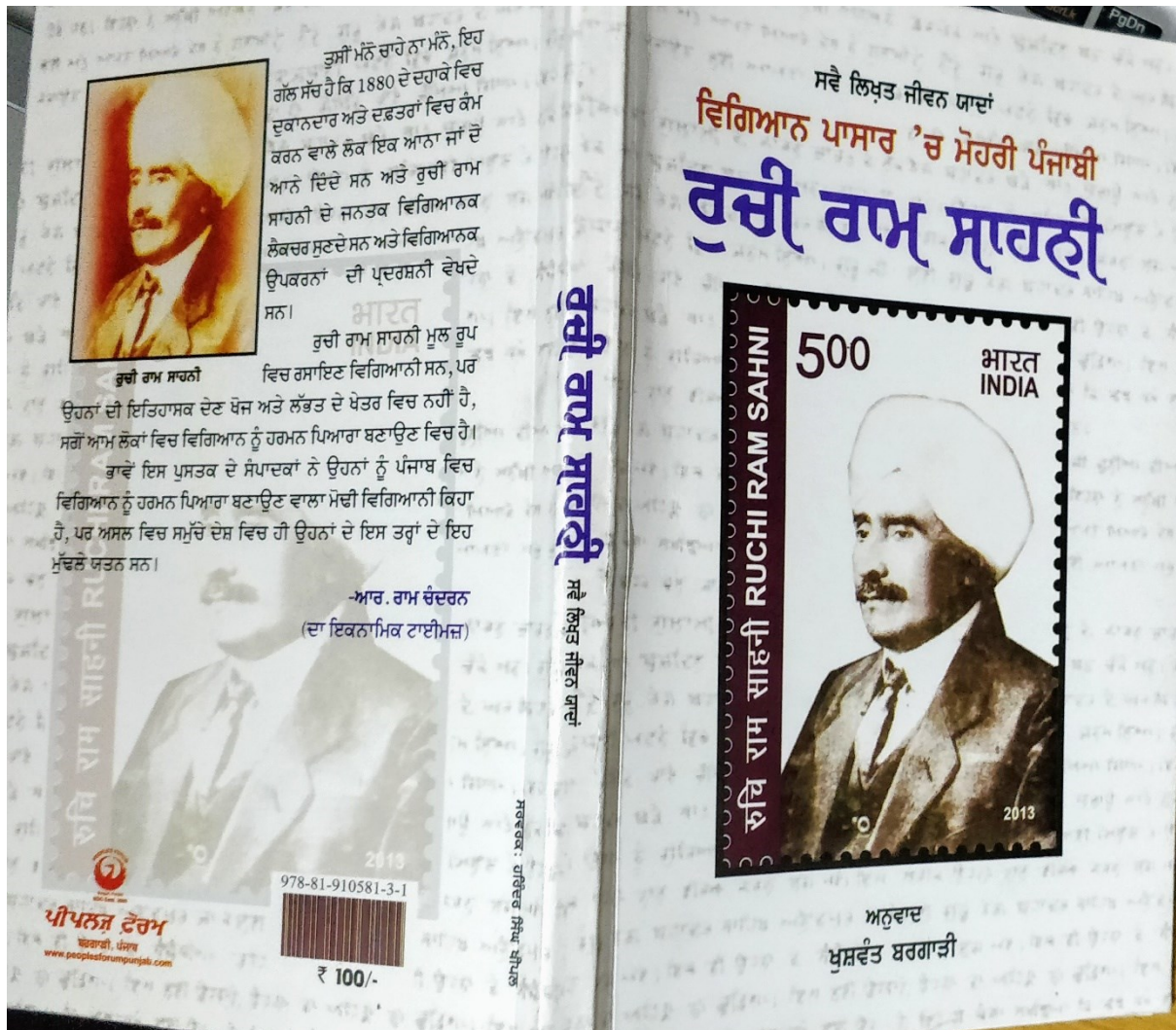
Dr. Gaya Prasad was born on 20<sup>th</sup> June 1900 in Khazuri village of Kanpur district. He was married as a child of 11 years, but he came into contact with revolutionaries. He started his medical shop from Farrukhabad/Jalalabad. He came to Lahore in July 1928, from where he was sent to Ferozepur. He was sentenced to transportation for life along with Shiv Verma, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Mahavir Singh and Jaidev Kapoor. He spent seventeen years in prisons, three years more than normal fourteen year life sentence and was released only on 21<sup>st</sup> February 1946. He spent five years in Andamans and in Lahore, Multan, Bellary, Calcutta, Sultanpur, Allahabad, Lucknow and Kanpur jails. He remained on hunger strike in jails for more than one and half years including 83 days hunger strike in Andamans in two times. In 1958 and 1964-66, he spent two years in independent Indian jails. He joined CPI and later CPM and passed away on 10<sup>th</sup> February 1993 at the age of 93 years.

In appendices few documents from conspiracy trial have been reproduced and an extract from Bejoy Kumar Sinha's book-Andamans-The Indian Bastille- has been produced in Punjabi translation, which records the death of Mahavir Singh during hunger strike and throwing away his body in sea by jail officials.

On the whole it is useful book.

12. ਸਵੈ ਲਿਖਤ ਜੀਵਨ ਯਾਦਾਂ: ਰੁਚੀ ਰਾਮ ਸਾਹਨੀ , ਅਨੁਵਾਦ ਖੁਸ਼ਵੰਤ ਬਰਗਾੜੀ,

ਪੀਪਲਜ਼ ਫੋਰਮ ਬਰਗਾੜੀ, ੨੦੦੮/੨੦੧੬, ਸਫ਼ੇ ੧੩੫, ਮੁੱਲ 100/ ਰੁਪਏ



Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni was founder of science education in undivided Punjab, yet his historic role has not been properly acknowledged by historians and activists for scientific temper in education nor by Punjabi language supporters. He along with Principal Chhabil Das and Profesor Brij Naraian like people brought subjects and topics like Science, Politics and Economics close to people in Punjabi language with public speeches to common people like rural and urban people-peasants, workers, middle classes. Those who are holding Dharnas etc for promotion of Punjabi language,

mostly from creative literary world are not looking back at the legacy of hundred years during British colonial period and linking it up with the present situation in Indian or Pakistani Punjab.

This book-Life Memoirs of Ruchi Ram Sahni was edited by Narinder K. Sehgal and Subodh Mohanti probably in 1994 as the year given in preface, has been translated in Punjabi by Khushwant Bargadi, who is also publisher of People's Forum books from Bargadi. On the back of cover page, there is comment of R Ramchandran quoted from The Economic Times, which may be the review of this book itself, underlining the real role of Ruchi Ram Sahni as 'of popularising science in common people'. It happened during 1880's in Punjab, but these were the first attempts to promote science.

Subodh Mohanti has a chapter introducing Ruchi Ram Sahni's life and works, who became Assistan Professor in Physics and Chemistry in Govt. College Lahore in 1887 and retired as senior Professor in 1918. Prior to Him J C Bose started teaching science in Presidency College Calcutta in 1885, P C Ray returned from Edinburg in 1888 and became assistant professor in Presidency in 1889. Mohinder Lal Sarkar set up 'Indian Association for cultivation of science' in Calcutta in 1887, C V Raman joined this association in 1907. Calcutta University VC Ashutosh Mukhrejee played a key role in giving institutional form to modern science in India. The first Indian Science Congress was held in 1914 under Ashutosh Mukhrejee's chairmanship. When Ruchi Ram Sahni joined Punjab Education Service(P.E.S.), then only three Indians were part of Indian Education Service(I.E.S.). Ruchi Ram Sahni was among first Indians to promote science education and popularising it among common people.

Ruchi Ram Sahni played an active role in freedom struggle. He worked with Pt. Motilal Nehru, C R Das, Madan Mohan Malviya and other leaders during enquiry of Jallianwala Bagh terror. He was also close to Mahadev Govind Ranade.

Sahni was born on 5<sup>th</sup> April 1863 in Dera Ismail Khan. His father Karam Chand Sahni was a businessman and mother Gulab devi came from moneylender's family. Mulkh Raj Sahni, son of Ruchi Ram has noted these facts in his biography of his father- 'Landmarks and Strandlines: An Autobiography'. He set up Zoology department in Panjab University. Ruchi Ram started going to a Pandhey for study at the age of five years. At the age of nine years, he worked with Seth Kalyan Das. He took his education

in Church school Dera Ismail Khan, he topped in Punjab in middle class examination in 1878. He did his Matriculation from Adiwali school and joined Govt. college Lahore, where Dr. G L Litner was Principal. He did his intermediate in 1881 and graduation in 1884, topping the examination. Despite his interest in Mathematics, he did his M.A. in Physics and Chemistry. Even before completing his MA, he got job in weather dept and was posted in Calcutta, where he was allowed to complete his studies. He was made Assistant Professor in Govt. College Lahore in 1887. There was no library, he set up himself. For long time he remained member of University Syndicate. To popularise science among masses, he established Punjab Science Institute and delivered more than five hundred lectures on common issues. He used to deliver lectures in Punjabi and English, using Urdu words. Punjab Science institute produced scientific instruments also. In patronisation from Indian National Congress, Punjab science institute took part in many exhibitions in country. Eminent scientist Dr. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, founder of CSIR, was much influenced by Ruchi Ram Sahni, who was his teacher. Sahni was a liberal in thinking, he became Brahmo along with Dyal Singh Majithia in Punjab. He was elected member of Punjab legislative council in 1923. After breathing in independent India, he took his last breath on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1948.

Birbal Sahni, his son, set up service for one month less than one Birbal Sahni institute of Zoology in Lucknow University. National council for science and technology communication claimed that they found Ruchi Ram Sahni autobiography, though few portions of this are not found. It was published in two issues of NCSTC communications journal in November 1991 and January 1992 issues, which probably has taken the shape of this book. Text of Ruchi Ram Sahni is spread in 113 pages from page no 22 to 135 and is in six chapters.

Ruchi Ram Sahni begins his story with the description of his job in first chapter – Story of Indian official's struggles and tests'. He tells us that he had done official service for just one month less of 1/3 of a century. He was recruited in weather dept. on 10<sup>th</sup> January 1885, by the end of March 1887, his services were transferred to Education department of Punjab Government and he was appointed assistant Professor in Physics and Chemistry at Govt. College Lahore, from where he retired as Senior Professor on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1918 at the age of 55 years. He worked as Director on Multan Schools for ten months in 1908 and in 1905 as officiating Director of Amritsar schools for three months.

Sahni worked under eight Principals and five DPI's. In his 31 year college service he developed warm relations with more than thirty European Professors. At that time only three Indians were part of Indian Education service, among whom Jagdish Chander Bose was one. During his MA studentship, Sir Denzel Ibbetson visited his college and was impressed by his experiments. Sahni soon got offer from weather department to join as assistant weather reporter. He was to be appointed at Calcutta and he was assured that he could continue his MA studies in Presidency College there. In Presidency college he met Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, who was considered great educationist of his times. His class fellows included Upender Kishore Chaudhary, who was father of Satyajit Ray and was later known as U Ray as singer. Sahni was influenced by Brahmo Samaj there, which was set up by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, founder of Bengal enlightenment and renaissance. Tagore's father Devender Tagore was bit elder than Ruchi Ram. In Calcutta, Sahni used to go to listen Mohinder Lal Sarkar lectures in 'Indian Association for the cultivation of science', which Sarkar set up in 1876. This first institute for scientific research in India. Ruchi Ram Sahni set up 'Punjab Science Institute' in Lahore inspired from Mohinder Lal Sarkar. Ruchi Ram's boss Blandford was a very kind person. He contrasts him with the bullying conduct of his successor John Eliot. In the meantime Sahni got letter of appointment from Govt. College Lahore, where he was appointed as assistant professor at 200/ Rupees per month.

Ruchi Ram joined in College on 29<sup>th</sup> March 1887 and spent all his life there till retirement. Though in between, he got a chance to visit Europe for research and was stuck up in Germany during First World War. Ruchi Ram worked hard to prepare for his lectures, which he used to deliver in morning from 9.30 am to 11.30 am and supervised practicals from 2 pm onwards. He used to have nap for an hour after lunch. First five years in College job were hectic for Sahni, in which he set up Punjab Science institute workshop also. There was no library in University, so set up his personal library. During his college job Ruchi Ram joined Mayo Arts College to learn art work of wood for about six months, where he came in contact with Bhai Ram Singh and Lockwood Kipling, father of Rudyard Kipling. As per Ruchi Ram, Bhai Ram Singh designed best building is that of Khalsa College Amritsar.

Ruchi Ram was taking part in Congress activities also, though Govt. employees were supposed to remain away from political activities. Ruchi Ram refers to scandals in



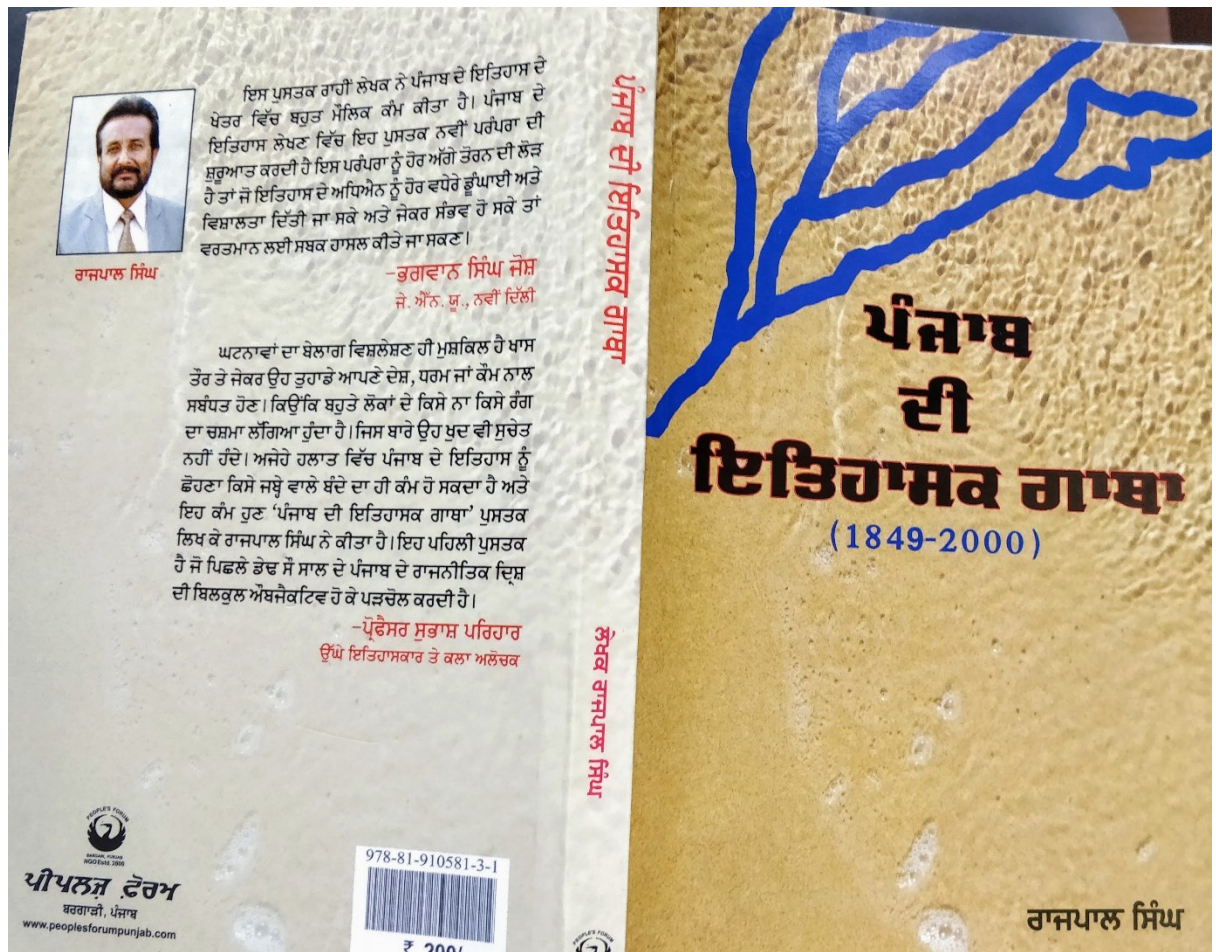
University examination system also, for which he was made to suffer at the hands of some British faculty members. He remained long time member of University senate and syndicate. Sahni went to Europe for first time after 1914, during world war-1, in which more than 80 lakh people got killed and 21 crore were injured. It was fought between-Britain/France/Russia/Belgium/Japan on one side and Germany/Austria/Turkey on another. Britain side won the war. He had difficult experience during war and was helped by Ranjit Pandit, who became Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit husband later.

Ruchi Ram Sahni spent most of his time and attention to Punjab Science Institute, which was suggested by Prof. J C Omman, during Sahni's student days at college. In 1885, a society was set up for the institute, whose secretary was Prof. Omman and joint secretary was Sahni. In this chapter Ruchi Ram refers to his close association with Mahadev Govind Ranade(!1842-1901), who is considered father of Indian economics. He remained Judge in Bombay High Court during 1893-1901. Deccan Educatio society Pune was set up by his inspiration. Ruchi Ram Sahni refers to public lectures delivered by him from Panjab Science Institute.. There was a fees to listen this lecture, which was one or two annas. Sahni delivered at least two lectures in Patiala. Lectures were on common themes like-how telegram works, Panjab and its rivers etc. Sahni used Punjabi medium for delivering his scientific lectures, which were listened by Guru Nanak family ancestor Baba Khen Singh Bedi, who said that he could never think before this lecture that Science can be taught through Punjabi medium also. Institute was closed some time by end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite its role in promoting science. In 1905 another body0'Society for the promotion of scientific knowledge' was formed, the whole property and belongings of institute were given to new body, which was led by Dr. C.C. Kleb. Ruchi Ram refers to efforts about the workshop which was set up as part of Punjab Science Institute and whose head technician was Mistri Allah Bakhsh. Workshop produced lot of scientific instruments. Sahni spent much money from his own savings from salary for the workshop. Workshop produced instruments were sent for display in industrial conferences organised by Congress party. The last chapter of memoirs of Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni is focussed on his long and healthy life.( He lived upto 85+ years). He refers to his disciplined life, daily walk, controlled food, he was non vegetarian. No where he refers to religion or superstitions about anything in a successful life, his focus is on Science.

**Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni played a yeoman's role in promoting and popularising Science education and its practice in Punjab, he is pioneer of rational thinking in Punjab, he has not been given his due credit in Punjab education. Along with Principal Chhabil Das and Prof. Braj Narain, he developed Punjabi language for advanced education in Punjab and their pioneer role must be underlined and made part of school education in Punjab.**

**This book is a good contribution in understanding Ruchi Ram Sahni role in enlightenment of Punjab.**

**13. Panjab di Itihas Gatha(History narrative of Punjab), Rajpal Singh, 2016/2018,  
People's Forum, Bargadi, pages 206, Price 200/ Rupees**



Rajpal Singh is a well-known rationalist activist of Punjab and has been editing journal on rationalism and writing on issues relating to rationalism. He has translated Aldous Huxley's novel Brave New World in Punjabi and few more books to his credit. But in thi book, he has taken plunge into writing and analysing Punjab history of 150 years from 1849 to 2000. After the end of Khalsa Raj and annexation of Punjab by East India company to the end of twentieth century covering both colonial and post-colonial period. This narration of history is also written in rationalist bent of mind and some readers may find some of his observations controversial also.

Apart from brief preface-Why this book? And bibliography at the end, book is divided into 24 chapters. In his preface Rajpal Singh clears his perception to look at history of modern Punjab that is to look at it in dispassionate manner and through facts of the time without any colouring. The first chapter looks at the first decade of British rule in Punjab, which is described as from opposition to cooperation. Quoting S S

Thornburn writer tells us that one lakh twenty thousand army surrendered their arms, which even British were not expecting. They thought some tribes will surrender, but not Sikhs. The author thinks that even some Sikh chiefs played traitor role in anglo-sikh wars, yet Sikh side was bound to loose as they were backward in terms of arms. Though during Ranjit Singh rule, some modernisation of armed force was done, yet they were much behind British army in terms of advanced armaments. On 29<sup>th</sup> March 1849, Punjab became part of British empire. A three member board inclusive of Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence and Charles Mensal was formed. All three were competent administrator and first two were brothers. After British victory Sikh army was disbanded and hardly ten percent of its sepoys were merged in British army. Henry was bit kind hearted but his brother John was hard like Lord Dalhousie. British started acquiring direct land tax from peasants, which was less than Sikh rule, but was collected harshly. One could get some relaxation during Khalsa rule, but in British rule there was no relaxation. John Lawrence started some schemes to improve peasantry conditions, 10 lakh tree were planted in few district. Land records were set up, new forms of cultivation were introduced with which by 1853, peasantry condition started improving. Attention was paid to overall development of Punjab , till May 1854, 3600 miles of roads were made. Bari-doab canal was set up, Railway lines were planned. By 1856, 30 schools at district headquarters and 100 at other places were planned and a college was planned at Lahore. All toll taxes were abolished by 1850, to resolve petty crimes Courts were set up, which decided issues within a month without any fees or need to engage a lawyer. But there was social crime of killing girls after birth was prevalent, the birth ration in 1854 census was just 837 girls for 1000 boys. The British strictness largely controlled this social evil by 1856.

With these steps Punjab felt the impact of peace after a decade long internecine war and anti-British struggle and the militant considered Sikhs were now under control of British! In contrast to Punjab, other tribes like Pathans on western borders remained in constant conflict with Britishers. Within 2-3 years British realised that Sikhs are good army men, so gradually they began to be recruited in army. Exception to cooperation with British was rebellion by Ahmad Kharl in Sahiwal, earlier Montgomery. But he was crushed in 2-3 months. John Lawrence was quite smart Chief Commissioner of Punjab, during 1857 Indian rebellion, there were few instances of rebellion in Punjab too at Ferozepur, Mardan, Jalandhar, Jhelum, Sialkot and Lahore etc, but sepyos were

disarmed in advance . Only 500 sepoys from Lahaore's Mia Mir cant, killed their command officer and declared rebellion and walked towards Delhi on foot. They were confronted in Amritsar district at Ajnala, 218 sepoys were shot dead, then and there and the bodies were thrown in river ravi. Many more were imprisoned in a small room, who died with suffocation. Largely Sikhs became reliable allies of British and when British made final attack on Delhi on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1857 and won it back, captured by rebels earlier , Sikh sepoys were in lead.

Second chapter of the book focuses upon Maharaja Duleep Singh, the last king, described as his aimless life. Duleep Singh was proclaimed king at the age of five years and her mother Jindan acted as Regent to rule, but when British annexed Lahore, Duleep age was few month plus ten years. He was handed over to Dr. Login couple, his pension was fixed around five lakh rupees per year. Logins took care of him like their own child and Duleep became Christian out of his own volition. His mother had migrated to Nepal. Duleep was favourite of British queen Victoria too. In 1861, he brought his mother Jindan from Nepal to England, who died in 1863. He brought her body to India for cremation at Nasik and on his return to England, on the way, he met Bamba Muller, whom he married in 1864. In England he lived in leisure in his posh bungalow and got six children from Bamba. He spent too much money on his pleasure and demanded increase in his pension, which was denied. Times of London published his letter on 31<sup>st</sup> August 1882 demanding return of his properties. Denied of his demands, he returned to Sikhism and got baptised at Aden on his return journey to India. He went to Paris from Aden and then to Moscow from there. He asked for help from Ruians, but they refused. He returned to Paris in 1888 and got afflicted with paralysis. He apologised to Queen Victoria and died on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1893 in aa Paris hotel. He was buried in England as per Christian rituals. Lately he has been presented by some Sikh sections as if he was a freedom fighter, but British knew how capable he was.

From 1850 to 1900, there was relative peace in Punjab, however by the beginning twentieth century, there was murmuring as economically peasantry in Punjab was getting in bad shape and it was getting indebted due to stricter land tax even without crop, when there were no rains. A powerful lending class came into existence due to British strictness in land tax collection. Aroras, Khattris and Banias became money



lenders in Punjab and they started squeezing peasants. During last quarter of nineteenth century religion also began affecting social life by its fundamentalist approach, which made people got into conflict with each other at religious level too. Earlier there was no hardened feelings among all three major religious groups in Punjab- Hindus/Sikhs and Muslims. Common people will celebrate all religious festivals of all religions. But this changed with organised groups of different religions like Arya Samaj , Singh Sabha and Muslim bodies came into existence and divided people by their exclusive and divisionary approach. Next chapter is focussed on Kuka movement led by Guru Ram Singh during 1850's. Kuka founder Guru Ram Singh was born in 1816 in Bhaini village of Ludhiana district. Ram Singh later organised Kuka movement, they were vegetarians and they targeted Muslim butchers against cow slaughter. There in 1859 were clashes and in 1872 on 17&18<sup>th</sup> July at Rardh and in Malerkotla 66 Kukas were slaughtered by British officer Cauven. The sacrifices of Kukas made even Bhagat Singh admire them, who wrote on Guru Ram Singh in Maharathi and Kirti. In next chapter Malwai Sikhi, author shows that Malwa Sikh jats were very simple and did not bother about ritual, many of them could smoke, though Sikhism does not allow it.

In next chapter-The bad foundations of modern thinking-author contrasts European and Punjab situation in terms of great discoveries being made in scientific development such as Charles Darwin in 1859 discovering the man's development from monkey, Louise Pasteur trying to discover treatment to big ailments-1885, Graham Bell innovating Telephone-1876, Thomas Edison innovating electric bulb-1880. Marx and Freud analysing society and human psyche. In Punjab all knowledge was being sought in Vedas and innovation of printing press was used only to print religious books and not knowledge books. The printing of newspapers was also linked to religion only. All local language papers were linked to one or the other religious group. Even the spread of formal education was based in religious institutions. Christians set up four colleges-FC Collge Lahore, Murrey College Sialkot, Edward College Peshawar and Gorden College Rawalpindi. Arya Samajis had DAV College Lahore in 1889, Sikhs had Khalsa College Amritsar in 1992 and same years Muslims had Islamia College Lahore. Only Govt. College Lahore was opened in 1864. So Punjab had little intellectual awakening in nineteenth century.

Next session of book is from 1900 to 1947, which is described as the period of struggles and new awareness. 1907 was the year of first fire of rebellion as peasantry movement. The land colonisation bill of 1906 was anti peasant, it awakened them Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai organised people, both were exiled to Burma. Next chapter is on Punjabis moving abroad, description of Punjabi migration to Canada and USA with eruption of Ghadar movement. New Idea via Ghadar party is next chapter. Jallianwalabagh episode and Mahatma Gandhi interaction with Punjabis is next topic. Gandhi had three big movements launched-January 1921 non-cooperation movement, second salt and civil disobedience movement in 1930 and the final 1942 Quit India movement. As per govt. statistics in 1942 movement, 208 police stations, 332 railway stations, 945 post offices were destroyed by people. In Bihar alone 1761 people were killed in police shooting. In Punjab only at two places there was police shooting, while 2500 people were arrested. Next chapter is Akali movement-three morchas-Nankana Sahib in February 1921, Akali paper started 21<sup>st</sup> May 1920. Gurdwara Rakabganj wall, Babe ki ber gurdwara , Mahants soiled even Darbar Sahib, Guru ka Bagh morchain 1922 and Jaitu morcha in September 1923. Akali movement was extended into militant Babbar Akali movement, many touts killed and many Babbars executed. Execution of an intellectual talent is on Bhagat Singh. Next comes- struggle for socialism-beginning of communist movement. 1933-35 is State people's movement against feudalism, seva Singh thikriwala dies in January 1935. Bhupinder Singh was main culprit. Communal cauldron and Unionist party effort to keep Punjab united is last chapter before 1947 partition.

Last part of the book is on 1947 to 2000-the period of violence and unfulfilled dreams. First chapter is on communal violence with one million deaths, next is farm labour movement in Kishangarh, short but inspiring movement by Red Party. Next chapter is communist splits and parliamentary/non parliamentary forms of communist movement. Next chapter is on Punjabi suba movement, followed by-Spring Thunder of Naxalite movement with role of different groups. Next chapter is black period of communal terrorist violence of Khalistanis. Next chapter is on Dalit movements with highest Dalit population of 32% in Punjab. Last Chapter is looking back at the 150 years.

This is a short history of modern Punjab written in popular style with rationalist perspective. It has acknowledged the positive role of British colonialism even. Looking

from present perspective of Ambedkarists, the whole nationalist movement becomes controversial. When one looks at the social role of ruling classes and whom it has benefitted, then Dalits rightly feel benefitted by colonial rule in terms of education and jobs and dignified treatment from rulers, so one cannot always sing the peans of nationalism, which benefitted only feudal lords and capitalists. It is an interesting book.

## **March 2018**

- 14. Rajmohan Gandhi, 'Punjab-A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten', Aleph  
Delhi, 2013, pages 432, price Rs. 695/**